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## ART. I.—CANON GORE ON THE “EUCCHARIST.”

*The Body of Christ: an inquiry into the institution and doctrine of the Holy Communion.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D., etc. London: Murray. 1901.

THIS volume is characterised by all Canon Gore's subtlety of distinction as well as by his exceptional familiarity with the patristic and scholastic authorities with which he has to deal; neither is there wanting that measure of idealistic philosophy his readers have learned to expect, wherewith he is fain to blur an over rigid outline; or again, the deft appeal to the latest vogue of popular sentiment.

His object is to vindicate for the Anglican Church a belief in the Real Presence not merely *in usu*, that is to say, effectively in the soul of the recipient, but *extra usum*, on the altar, apart from the act of reception. At the same time, as against the Roman Church, he insists that such Real Presence being *in ordine ad usum*, for the sake of use, there can be no guarantee of such a continued Presence as would justify the modern Catholic practice of Benediction, visits, etc. He denounces the doctrine of Transubstantiation: (1) as unwarranted by Scripture or tradition; (2) as open to the gravest philosophical difficulties; (3) as contrary to the  
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principles of Christian theology manifested in the Incarnation, according to which the natural elements used in the sacraments are not destroyed but elevated to a higher state. For detailed proof of these positions we are referred to Dissertation III. "Transubstantiation and Nihilianism," 1895.

I shall have something to say on each of these four points of objection :

I. As to the possibility of an idolatrous worship connected with the Catholic practice of Eucharistic adoration, I would observe that the hosts reserved in the Tabernacle are reserved as a *copia* both for those who can come to communion and for the sick to whom it may be necessary at any hour of the day or night that Communion should be brought. Meanwhile the Divine object of Communion is visited and worshipped ; benediction is given, and many spiritual communions are made. Even the large host reserved for benediction is there to be broken up for Communion, should it be required. There is no reservation for worship more than co-extensive in length of time with the reservation for Communion. It would be indefinitely more intelligible if the Real Presence were confined to the act of Communion than that there should be an intermittent presence of which the law was unknown ; so that every faithful heart might echo the cry of the bewildered Magdalen : "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." Neither is it in accordance with the text which says : "The gifts of God are without repentance ;" that after having solemnly designated the tabernacle of the species as his abode He should withdraw his tenancy without a sign that he does so, or the suggestion of a reason.

The abiding sacramental presence of Christ in our Churches has been for so many centuries admittedly the centre of every holy aspiration, and every good work ; the source of reformation of life and self-sacrifice ; and in the most evil times the nursery of saints. Its possession, I have always thought, has been the one boast of ours that our opponents have most largely crowned with their envy ; and I confess I am startled to find among their



ranks a high churchman advanced enough to be sceptical of his own advances; who invites us to share with him a scepticism based upon a belief, as it were a feast upon a sacrifice, and to recognise that it is after all the scholar who alone can appreciate the understanding, and regulate the intercourse of the Church with her Divine Master (p. 239). I am glad to feel sure that the aspiration after Eucharistic worship amongst Anglicans has gone too far to be much affected by Canon Gore's scruples.

2. As to the evidence for Transubstantiation in Scripture and tradition, we claim that Transubstantiation, *i.e.*, the ceasing of the substance of the bread in the Body, and the ceasing of the substance of the wine in the Blood, of Christ, beneath an unaltered species, is the one proper sense of the words of institution; and as such has been practically delivered to the Church from the beginning as a truth at once of Scripture and tradition; and that this has been the teaching of the Fathers, so far as they have approached clearness and consistency; that anyhow, no other doctrine has been consistently taught. Here I must stay for a moment to interpose a protest against Canon Gore's method of patristic exegesis. If he finds a passage in which a doctrine is clearly expressed, instead of using it to explain the more obscure passages touching on the same matter, he prefers to qualify the plain by the obscure; so as to bring the whole under that dim religious light he loves so well, and which he much prefers to anything clear and explicit. See Dissert. III. p. 233; Body of Christ, pp. 148, 204, 236. But we shall revert to this point later on.

In a petulant note, p. 247, he remarks: "Certainly among the most wearisome pages in theology are those filled with the discussion of these words" (the words of institution) "by Romanist theologians. Do they mean 'this bread (or wine) becomes at this moment, by Transubstantiation, my body (or blood),' or what precisely? *Ex hypothesi*, they cannot be at once both bread and Christ's body; both wine and Christ's blood." We may be allowed to answer these questions from Franzelin *de Euch.*, p. 258: "When Christ the Lord taking bread, saith 'This is my Body' He not only affirms that what he

exhibits under the sensible species of bread is His Body, but He also denies that it is bread. Why does the affirmation that this (the thing exhibited under the species of bread) is His Body, involve a denial that the bread is still there? The reason is that while the substance of the bread persists, all that can be truly said, is 'This is bread, and present in the bread is My Body.' It cannot be said 'This is My Body;' and the reason of this is because the pronoun 'Hoc' (This) directed to the sensible species of the bread only indicates the substance of bread co-natural to this species, as long as it in fact remains. Neither can it without deception be adopted to the exhibition of an alien substance, invisibly present along with the bread." It must be remembered that the words are not only designative, but effective of that which they designate; and thus in the saying, are in part prophetic of what will only be in fact, when they are completely said. They can only be said truly by one who is making them true.

This same criticism which Franzelin passes upon the words of institution: "This is My Body," etc., is effective as regards such patristic passages as speak of the bread after consecration "becoming" or "being converted into" the Body of Christ. That is to say, they are not true statements, according to the accredited form of human speech, if they only mean "this bread contains or conveys the Lord's Body," instead of "This is no longer bread but is His Body." Thus, it is only fair to interpret such phrases as involving a *desitio panis*, particularly as we are able to quote passages in which such *desitio* is distinctly expressed. For instance, St. Cyril Hieros (*Cat. Mystag.* iv. 9): "Possessed of a full faith . . . assure thy heart . . . that what appears to be bread is not bread but Christ's body; and what appears to be wine is not wine, although taste would have it so, but Christ's blood." St. Isidore (*Tom.* vii. p. 316, Ed. Arevali): "The priest invisible by his word turns out (*evertit*) the visible creatures into the substance of His Body and Blood . . . Nor let anyone doubt, that at the bidding of Might, at the presence of Majesty, the original creature passes into the

nature of the Lord's Body." *Franzelin de Euch.*, p. 227, quotes St. Gregory of Nyssa, Macarius, and Theophylact as asserting the same doctrine in so many words, that after consecration, "the apparent bread is not bread."

St. John Chrysostom (*Hom.* xxxiii. in Matt.): "Let us believe in God throughout, nor in ought gainsay Him, even if what He says seems at variance with our reasoning and our very eyes. But let His word have the mastery over both our reasoning and our eyes. So let us do in the Mysteries, not looking at what is merely set before us, but let us keep hold of His words. His word cannot deceive, but our senses are deceived easily. He never errs; our senses frequently. Since then the word saith: 'This is My Body' let us be persuaded and believe, and with our intellectual eyes perceive this. Christ has given us nothing sensible, but within things sensible all things intelligible."

Canon Gore thinks he has found in St. Augustine at once a repudiation of Transubstantiation, and a justification of the hesitating tremulous acceptance of the Real Presence with which he accredits the Anglican Church. He refers us to a note Dissert. p. 233. It is worth transcribing at length as exhibiting the controversial *champ clos* as far as St. Augustine's doctrine on the Real Presence is concerned. As it stands it is singularly plausible; but, as I shall hope to show, is still more certainly unfair.

"St. Augustine's doctrine of the Eucharist may be summarized under three heads: (1) The consecrated elements are signs of the body and blood, and not in themselves the things they signify. See Ep. 98 ad Bonifacium: 'Si autem Sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est'—i.e., baptism which represents the faith of the infant who is baptized is that faith; cf. 'non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere *hoc est corpus meum* cum signum daret

corporis sui' (cont. Adim. Manich. 12). This passage, with others, must interpret his words when he comments thus in Psalm xxxiii. (title) Enarr. i. 10 : 'Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis quando commendans ipsum corpus suum ait *hoc est corpus meum*. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis . . . accepit in manus suas quod norunt fideles, et ipse se portabat quodam modo cum diceret *hoc est corpus meum*' (ii. 2). Roman Catholic controversialists generally omit to notice the *quodam modo*, which corresponds to the *secundum quendam modum* above. The bread and wine then, considered in themselves, represent, and are not the body and Blood of Christ. In the same way the bread composed of many grains, represents the 'mystical body' of Christ, the Church, and this mystical body is sometimes spoken of as the *res sacramenti*, e.g., Ep. 185. 50. *ad Bonifacium* : 'rem ipsam non tenent intus [Donatistæ] cujus est illud sacramentum' — i.e. ecclesiam ; cf. in Joan. Tract. xxvi. 17."

I readily admit that if any such controversy had prevailed in St. Augustine's time as we are familiar with in the ninth, eleventh, and sixteenth centuries, or at the present day, the passages quoted above from the Epistles to Boniface and against Adimantius, are sufficient to convict St. Augustine of denying not transubstantiation only, but any objective real presence. But it must be remembered that until centuries after St. Augustine's day no one, with the exception of such heretics as denied that Christ had any real body at all, questioned his real presence in the Eucharist. Thus St. Augustine had no call to vindicate this doctrine, "opportunè importunè," when he would fain lay stress upon another, though a connected doctrine. Again, he was frequently restrained by the *disciplina arcani* from freedom of discourse thereon. We have an indication of this, one out of many, in the "quod norunt fideles" in a passage just quoted.

I am loth to accept Canon Gore's imputation of inconsistency (see Dissert., p. 232) to the great theologian of the Western Church, being myself quite unable to regard it as a recommendation, although I can understand its

convenience for those who would play fast and loose with antiquity.

It may be to the purpose here to quote a few passages in proof of St. Augustine's belief in the real presence of Christ, "sub specie." In addition to the passage (Enarr. in Ps. xxxiii.) so carefully discounted by Canon Gore, we have in a sermon to children, 227, the categorical statement "that bread which you see on the altar, consecrated by the word of God, is the Body of Christ; that cup, or rather what the cup hath, consecrated by the word of God, is the Blood of Christ." In Ps. 39: "Lo, the reality (veritas) cometh, and vanisheth the primitive sacrifice. Gone are the holocausts of rams, goats, calves, and other victims. Why would He not have them any longer? Why did He at first desire them? Because they were all, as it were, promises. When that has come which they promise, they are uttered no more. . . . What is their fulfilment? The body that ye know, which not all of you know, which I would that ye who know did not know unto judgment." Sermon 9, de temp: "Already you have known your price" (*i.e.*, your redemption), "you have known what you are eating, what you are drinking, nay Him whom you are eating, Him whom you are drinking. Refrain from fornications." Ep. 36, ad Casulan, n. 24: he here corrects a certain Roman writer, whom he calls Urbicus, who in a stream of historical antithesis enumerates the rites of the old Law which have given place to those of the new, "*pani pecus, poculo sanguis.*" He corrects him thus: "He saith that sheep have given place to bread, as if he did not know that even then upon the table of the Lord were set out the loaves of proposition, and that now he takes his portion from the body of the Immaculate Lamb. He saith that blood has given place to the cup, not taking thought that even now he receives blood in the cup."

We may now revert to the passage in Ps. xxxiii., quoted by Canon Gore, in which it is said of Christ that "He was carried in His own hands when presenting His own body: he saith *this is My body*;" and again: "He took into His hands what the Faithful know, and after a manner

(quodam modo) carried Himself when He said *this is My body*." Canon Gore finds in the "quodam modo" a qualification of the reality of a presence, whereas it simply notes that the carrying is after a unique manner. It in no way falls short of the medieval statement, "*se dat suis manibus*." And now having proved abundantly, as I conceive, that St. Augustine teaches the objective verity of Christ's presence, a presence which he bids us worship, I proceed to deal with the two passages upon which Canon Gore grounds his assertion (Dissert. p. 232) that "it is, at any rate, certain that St. Augustine did not believe in Transubstantiation."

It is obvious that the two passages, if they are taken literally as an adequate explanation of the sense in which the Eucharist is spoken of as Christ's Body and Blood, militate as distinctly against any form of Real Presence as they do against Transubstantiation; and this Canon Gore would seem to confess when he gives us as their nett result: "The bread and wine considered in themselves represent, and are not, the body and blood of Christ." This is, so far, the ordinary Sacramentarian doctrine—the presence of a figure, with whatever grace it may be invested—not of a reality. But this is not the doctrine of St. Augustine; nor, so far as words go, of Canon Gore. Let us see whether the two passages will yield any more tolerable meaning.

Now, no Catholic denies the symbolism of the Holy Eucharist on the score of its reality. Christ is symbolized by the bread and wine, whether in their substance before consecration, or in their accidents after it. Christ's body and blood under the species forming a mystical or sacramental whole with it, represents Christ as actually sacrificed on the Cross, besides being substantially identified with the priest and victim of Calvary; and again, the same Body and Blood *sub specie* represents, but of course does no more than represent, the mystical body of Christ, the Church, the unification of which is, according to St. Augustine, the main object of the Holy Eucharist. It is upon these symbolical aspects that St. Augustine ventures to dwell, as we dare not dwell, with whom the question of the Real Presence is at stake.



The first passage is an attempt to justify by a parallel in another sacrament the equivalence of baptism and faith in a child. The sacrament of faith represents faith, and when there is no obstacle is faith. So the sacrament that has for its object to unite the faithful with their head in one living body, is called Christ's body, though such a union does not always result; and what is but a sign of that mystic membership is spoken of as Christ's body, as though it was, of necessity, what it signified and intended. The reality of the Body received and eaten remains intact as not entering into the discussion.

St. Augustine's theory that a Scripture text might have more than one literal meaning, made it easier for him to ignore the one sense or the other, without any risk of unreality, as the occasion might require.

But, it will be urged, granting all this, we have the Real Presence perhaps, but not necessarily Transubstantiation. I do not pretend that St. Augustine anywhere explicitly teaches the *desitio* of the elements. I do but contest Canon Gore's supposed proof that he certainly did not hold it. St. Augustine, with many of the Fathers, whilst recognising that the elements withdraw themselves, to all intents and purposes, except as the cover and vehicle of Christ's presence, had not thought out the precise character of what remained. Indeed, this is hardly as yet defined beyond the fact that the species have let their substances go, that they are not substantially what they were. It may still be disputed whether, as St. Thomas and the early scholastics thought, they retain their power of nourishment along with their quantity, and so their direct liability to corruption; or whether the return of the ancient substances is required for the conduct of any such processes.

Canon Gore is obviously mistaken when he insists that modern scholastics, Franzelin for instance, by giving a novel consistence and reality to the accidents, are tending to make transubstantiation meaningless, in contrast to the earlier schoolmen. The tendency has, in fact, been all the other way. With Franzelin, and the modern *schola* generally, the accidents do not nourish, as St.

Thomas makes them do; but only the returning substances; and moreover, the Cartesian view, which makes them mere appearances, though much discountenanced, has never been condemned, and has not been altogether without its influence upon theological opinion. See Amort. Cris. Theol.

I do not deny that in the recoil from the Berengarian heresy, in the eleventh century, there are expressions, of the Abbot Abundius, *e.g.*, which seem to ignore the reality of the accidents altogether; but Lanfranc, the principal exponent of orthodoxy, is quite explicit on the subject (Lib. de C. & S. D., cap 18): "*Reservatis ipsorum rerum speciebus et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus.*"

The statement in the "Ego Berengarius" that Christ's body "*sensualiter non solum in sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri,*" is infelicitous; not because its language has not a sufficient precedent in the writings of the Fathers and in several rituals,—the following from Chrysostom, Tom. 45, in Joan, may suffice, where Christ is spoken of as "not only suffering Himself to be seen at our desire, but to be handled and eaten, and to have His flesh penetrated by our teeth"; nor because it cannot be explained as relating to phenomena occurring "*in aliena non in propria specie*"; but because, intended as it was to scotch the particular snake with which it dealt, it was not sufficiently careful to preclude an obvious misinterpretation. The phrase was allowed to fall out of the next 'confessio,' and has been respectfully shelved by one theologian after another. It affords a telling example of the penalty that may attach to the precipitate exercise even of the highest authority.

The phrase "*sensualiter*" is habitual with Berengarius throughout his treatise "*De sacrâ Cænâ,*" and it would seem to mean not so much "*sensibly*" as "*literally,*" "*really,*" as opposed to "*tropicè,*" or as in the 'confession' to "*in sacramento.*" It was, of course, never pretended by anyone that our Lord's presence was perceived by the senses—the formula, as Mabillon observes, "*ad hoc tantum sic expressa fuit, ut fractio illa fieri non*



crederetur in substantia panis quam Berengarius post consecrationem superesse volebat."

2. As to the supposed philosophical difficulties, Canon Gore, Dissert., p. 272, contends that "when you distinguish 'substance' or 'being' from 'accidents' or 'qualities' in each object, and postulate a separation of the two elements, you are using the terms of a particular metaphysical theory alien to common thought and transitory even in the metaphysical schools." He is careful to remind us that "the *homoousion* dogma" is not at all open to the same objection, because *ousia* (being), "represents an idea necessarily common to all metaphysical, and indeed to all human thought." Now this is anything but fair. If "being" and "person" belong to "universal metaphysic," so do "substance" and "qualities." The distinction of the thing itself and its character in relation to other things lies at the foundation of all thought and all grammar. The estrangement from common thought in both cases only begins when the three persons claim a common *ousia*, or identity of being, and the substance and certain qualities a distinct existence. Indeed, the former, as an abiding fact in the Divine nature, more absolutely transcends the grasp of human thought than the conception of a scheme of qualities and their effects, supported for the moment by a Divine interposition, apart from the substance in which they naturally inhere.

Whilst on the subject of the metaphysic of the Eucharist, it may not be out of place to notice Canon Gore's determined attempt (B. of C., 149-153) to justify the Church of England in what he euphemistically describes as her return in Art. 29, "to the earlier and more ambiguous language of St. Augustine." He treats us in the pages indicated to an eloquent piece of Hegelian pantheism. It no doubt conveys in a striking manner the truth that in all knowledge there is a large subjective element; but it does so at the expense of the metaphysical paradox that mind creates the object of its knowledge. He escapes from the threatened vagaries of the individual mind to "that common reason," . . . "which at bottom has its origin out

of the Divine reason" . . . "rests at bottom on the activity of the Holy Ghost." Now, in poetry or rhetoric, we may properly employ a paradox to convey a truth; in metaphysic this is never allowable. It is doing evil within the very sanctuary of the intellect, and the slender good that comes of it is won at a destructive cost. It was one of the great merits of the schoolmen that they saw this absolutely, and stuck to it through thick and thin. With Canon Gore, on the contrary, the dominant subjectivity of knowledge is "apparently inevitable, if one likes to think," and so he rings the old changes between pantheistic science and sceptical nescience. Why, his friend Berengar might teach him a pertinent lesson in a passage he has himself translated! (De Sac. Coen., p. 101.) "*Maximi plane cordis est, per omnia ad dialecticam confugere, quo qui non confugit, cum secundum rationem sit factus ad imaginem Dei, suum honorem relinquet, nec potest renovari de die in diem ad imaginem Dei.*" What reason does towards the creation of the natural world, Canon Gore believes faith may do in the world of spiritual realities. He does not trouble to ask himself whether the English reformers were *tant soit peu* Hegelian; or whether it is not, on the contrary, quite certain that in making faith "the mean of reception," they intended to destroy the objective reality of the presence altogether, as Jeremy Taylor recognises when he says, "by *spiritually*" (present) "we mean present to our spirits only . . . by blessing and grace."

It is difficult not to smile at the grave rebuke administered to Abp. Temple (p. 234), because, with the horror for a blurred outline proper to a scholar of his day, he ventured to lay down, as the two possible theories regarding the Eucharistic presence open to Anglicans in default of Transubstantiation and Zuinglianism, which are forbidden, (1) Figure, with a gift; (2) Consubstantiation. No doubt it is trying to have the decent cloak of "earlier and more ambiguous language" thus rudely torn and cast aside. But on the whole it makes for justice; and after all, as the schoolboy is reported to have said: "The beast is a just beast."

(3.) The "*desitio*" of the substances of bread and wine, according to Canon Gore, involves the violation "of a central principle of Christian theology, viz., that the supernatural does not annihilate the natural." This, of course, is a principle manifestly operative in the mystery of the Incarnation, in which the "*propria*" of the assumed nature are never absorbed, but only elevated to a higher activity and use, by their union with the higher nature. This principle, belonging primarily and especially to the hypostatic union, is operative throughout the economy of grace, in which man is made a partaker in the Divine life, and is fashioned into the membership of Christ's mystical body. It also applies, as Canon Gore well remarks, to the inspiration of the sacred writers. Where, however, it is a question of the temporary use of the matter of the sacraments, of the oil and water and bread and wine, it is an extravagance to suppose, with Canon Gore, that the principle prevails, so to speak, in its own right, or can rest its claim upon more than the congruousness of a faint analogy. The possible relations of such '*matters*' to the grace accompanying their use are so remote and arbitrary, that they cannot be considered to have a serious claim. The history of sacramental usage suggests as much. There is no exaltation of the natural power of the water to cleanse, of the oil to strengthen, or of the bread and wine to feed and exhilarate; moreover, the reduction of the real washing of immersion to the mere symbolizing of the same by aspersion, and the substitution of the symbolic mouthful for the original "*cœna*," would seem to open the way to a *desitio*. The true analogy must be looked for, not in the hypostatic union, but in the assimilation of the food used by Christ in his mortal life to fill the void occasioned by the waste of tissue. There was a *desitio* of the food he eat with his disciples, and it was surely sufficiently honoured in such service. So, we may be satisfied, are the sacred elements when their substantial *desitio* builds a fresh chamber for their Maker's presence. On the other hand, I do not deny that we may find in the strong repugnance manifested by both fathers and school-

men to the idea of the annihilation of the substances of the bread and wine, the recognition of a certain claim of congruity.

We would point out that the contravention of a principle of such doubtful sanctity affords a curiously slender basis for the imputation of "a monophysite tendency," "in the secondary region of the sacramental presence," to the Eastern and ultimately to the Western Church (p. 114-116). In the same pragmatic spirit (p. 219-24), he insists that the Roman Church has vitiated her theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice, because she "neglects to put His presentation of Himself in heaven in the first place," as the High Priest of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "which had been so prominent in the patristic theology;" whereas Bishop Westcott assures us that "the thought, so far as I know, is not to be found in the Fathers." So after all the Roman Church may have been wise in its reticence. This will apply still more to Canon Gore's further assertion that the atonement was not completed on the Cross, but in Heaven. There is something one may respect in fanaticism. A man may be possessed with the idea that the Pope is anti-Christ, and may be honestly in love with some great truth to which he is persuaded that Rome is hostile. But this critic, who talks with such a large complacency, and who, on so slight a difference, is so sweeping and so confident in his censures, is somewhat hard to bear.

Canon Gore protests, *Dissert.*, p. 269, that "there is no idea or doctrine of the New Testament or of original Christianity which requires the dogma" of transubstantiation "in order to protect it." Again, the *B. of C.*, p. 223: "There is nothing in the New Testament even to suggest the vanishing of the original substances." As to the last assertion, I have already shown from Franzelin that the words of institution very much more than suggest the vanishing of "the original substances." Anyhow, as Canon Gore allows, these words imply an objective presence of our Lord within the area of the species; a presence commanding our worship according to the doctrine of the Fathers, *e.g.*, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. Now,

to safeguard this doctrine of the Real Presence, I maintain that the whole course of Church History has proved that the dogma of transubstantiation is neither more nor less than necessary. I am prepared to call in proof of this assertion the following witnesses:—(1) Berengar; (2) Wiclif; (3) Luther; (4) our English Reformers; (5) Dr. Pusey; (6) last, but not least, Canon Gore himself.

(1.) As to Berengar, he admittedly denies transubstantiation. Does he also deny the Real Presence? His contemporaries, with one accord, accuse him of so doing. Even Canon Gore, who maintains the opposite, can only say, "On the whole, his language is plain for the Real Presence;" whilst admitting that "at times he seems to pass from a 'spiritual' to a merely 'memorial' view of the Eucharistic elements." After allowing (De Sac. Cœn., p. 51) "that the bread and the wine of the altar, after consecration, is verily the body and blood," he insists, p. 149, that what flesh there may be is no flesh of Christ's, seeing that He has but one body, which, "until the season of the restitution of all things, is *de cœlo indevocabile*." (P. 222). "Even as the blood of Christ the Lord was proffered thee, but not sensibly, that thou mightest wash; so is it proffered thee, but not sensibly, that thou mightest drink." The word *sensualiter*, as I have said before, should rather be rendered "literally," "really," "in black and white." Guitmond, one of his contemporaries, attributes to him a twofold doctrine—the one popular, maintaining a merely figurative presence; the other esoteric, a sort of "impanatio." Mabillon (Dissert. de Bereng., ap. Zac. Thesaur., Tom. x., opusc. xvii., pp. 996-1002), inclines to the view that Berengar originally held the Real Presence after a fashion, but without a theory to justify it; but being pressed by the contention of Hugh of Langres: "You must needs either reduce the bread from its nature, or no longer presume to speak of it as the very body of Christ," vacillated betwixt sacramentarianism and impanation.

(2.) The same lesson is to be learned from the history of Wiclif as we gather from the "Fasciculus Zizaniorum" of Thomas of Walden, and from his own "Dialogus."

In his Confession (Fascic., p. 115), we read, "I have confessed, and I confess again, that the self-same body that was of the Virgin, suffered on the Cross, lay during the sacred triduum in the tomb, rose the third day, and after forty days ascended into heaven, and sitteth for ever at the right hand of God the Father, that self-same body, I say, and same substance, is truly and really the sacramental bread or consecrated host." "But not essentially, substantially, corporally and identically the same bread," p. 117; he confines the modes "substantially, corporally, and dimensionally" to Christ's body in heaven—dimensional identity with which is not taught by the Catholic Church, of the Body in the Sacrament.

In the "Trialogus," the latest of all his works, in which he is most explicit on the subject of the Eucharist, p. 248, he exhibits a threefold distinction: (1) "*Sacramentum et res*," the Lord's body in heaven, at once the reality and a sign of the Soul, Divinity, and Grace. (2) "*Sacramentum et non res*," the Eucharist, because it is not that sacred thing primarily represented, for it is not in its nature (naturaliter) the body of Christ. (3) "*Res et non sacramentum*," the grace of Christ's union with his Church independently of any sacrament, p. 266. Of the bread is predicated Christ's body, "*habitudinaliter*," with a certain respect, as the Baptist is called Elias, and the rock is called Christ. Thus the presence becomes merely figurative and virtual. P. 340, Christ is to be worshipped in no other sense in the Eucharist than he is everywhere else. Wiclif repeatedly denounces the Catholic worship of the Blessed Sacrament as idolatrous, which no one who holds any form of Real Presence has any right to do.

(3.) Luther, after admitting that he would gladly deny the Real Presence if he could find the least shred of authority for doing so in Scripture, "as nothing would so efficaciously trouble Popery," puts out the theory of consubstantiation, in which Christ is really present along with the substances of bread and wine; and, as present, must necessarily be worshipped. The worship soon ceased, and all but a figurative and virtual presence evaporated. (See

Wilberforce : "Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," p. 256, note, cf. p. 111).

(4.) On the whole, the English Reformers were not haunted by Luther's scruple as to the necessity of maintaining the real presence. It was a figure with a grace, not a "*res.*" This is clear from the fact "that what is over from their communion they do not hesitate to put to profane uses. For the remains of the wine of communion either the minister himself drinks at the common table, or, if there is not much remaining, he sometimes pours it on the ground, as Poinet, pseudo Bishop of Winchester, did of late in the Cathedral church of Winchester." (See Stapleton : "*Nota falsitatis in Juellum retorta,*" p. 1216.)

Even Bishop Guest, of Rochester, one of the so-called orthodox party (see Cardwell : "*Hist. of Conferences,*" p. 50), in a letter to Cecil, protests against a special vestment for the Eucharist : "Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptising, reading, preaching and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the Communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us that higher and better things be given by it than by the other services, which we must not believe." Again, he is urgent that a prayer in the First Book should be rejected, "for that it prays that the bread and wine may be Christ's body and blood which makes for the popish transubstantiation," without concerning himself at all with any other way of asserting the Real Presence.

In Cranmer's hands, who translated it, Luther's Catechism loses the teaching of the Real Presence thus (see Gasquet : "Edward VI. and the Bk. of Com. Prayer," p. 130) : "God is Almighty," says the original, "therefore He can do all things that He will. . . . *When He calls and names a thing which was not before, then at once that very thing comes into being as He names it.* Therefore, when He takes bread and says, 'This is My body,' then immediately there is the body of the Lord. And when He takes the chalice and says, 'This is My blood,' then immediately His blood is present." Cranmer leaves out of his translation the words given in italics,



and renders the rest as follows: "Wherefore, when Christ takes bread and saith, 'Take, eat, this is My body,' we ought not to doubt that we eat His very body; and when He takes the cup and saith, 'This is My blood,' we ought to think assuredly that we drink His very blood." Such a version, Dr. Gasquet continues, "cannot have been accidental. The two versions express the teachings of the two great schools of opinion in the sixteenth century: those who held, as it has been roughly said, the real presence, and those who held the real absence. Hallam's words may again be quoted in explanation: 'The truth is,' he writes, 'there were but two opinions at bottom as to the main point of the controversy; nor in the nature of things was it possible there should be more. For what can be predicated concerning a body in relation to a given space, but presence and absence?'"

Jeremy Taylor (P. D. Append., pp. 69-70): "We may not render Divine worship to Him as present in the Blessed Sacrament according to His human nature without danger of idolatry" (the terms of the question discussed), "because He is not there according to His human nature, and therefore you give Divine worship to a *non ens*, which must needs be idolatry, 'idolum nihil est in hoc mundo.'" Canon Gore will hardly dispute that with the loss of the belief in transubstantiation, or the conversion of the whole substance of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, all belief in Christ's objective presence in the Eucharist, all sense of the duty of adoring Him as therein present, passed away from the land until it was revived in our day: that the judgment was inflicted of which the Carmelite Tyssington was afraid, when during the Wiclif controversy he entreated the prayers of the faithful. "Finally, let Christ's faithful people take thought and pursue the Lord with their prayers, lest the Beloved be taken from them, for love of whom they languish, whose delight it is to be with the sons of men, from whose bodily presence they have more joy than from the bodily presence of any saint."

(5.) Dr. Pusey (Life, Vol. III., p. 423), in a letter dated October 16th, 1852, says: "I suspect that Roman doc-



trine" (*i.e.*, a belief in transubstantiation) "is increasing on the one side, while there is a vague fear of any definite doctrine among others." That is to say, that men are seeking in transubstantiation a justification of their belief in a real presence. Again, August 28th, 1856: "Among a large class the presence of the elements is a ground against adoration." That is to say, they are restrained from the fulfilment of a duty by the absence of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Indeed, it was with justice that transubstantiation was spoken of as "that Real Presence on which this adoration is built." (See "Discourse of the Holy Eucharist," approved at Canterbury, February 14th, 1686.)

August 9th, 1856 (p. 460): "So I came timidly to receive it" (the doctrine of the reception by the wicked), "as also the doctrine of the adoration, from which I had been withheld by the continuance of the visible elements." Of course, I am only citing Pusey as a witness to the difficulty of holding the Real Presence without transubstantiation. I am not pretending that he did not succeed in doing so. What precisely he held, however, it is not so easy to discern.

In a letter to Keble, October 16th, 1852, he says: "The words at the end of the first Book of Homilies, 'under the form of bread and wine,' furnish a good formula for the truth. . . . This mode of statement avoids the charge of consubstantiation." It is, as far as it goes, a good Roman Catholic formula, obviously patient, to say the least of it, of transubstantiation. But Dr. Pusey insists that the Anglican doctrine is that "the body and blood of Christ are present under accidents whose substance remains." That is to say, two substances are housed under the same species, which I take to be the precise meaning of consubstantiation. The charge of impanation, or the hypostatic union of the two substances, is avoided doubtless, but that is another story.

(6.) I do not doubt in the least that Canon Gore has every wish to believe, and has persuaded himself that he does believe, that Christ is really present, to use Dr. Pusey's formula, "under the form of bread and wine."

All the same, after reading his latest volume, I cannot persuade myself that he believes in anything more than a virtual, not a substantial presence. I proceed to submit my reasons. Page 25, he explains that by the flesh upon which we feed is to be understood "the spiritual principle as distinguished from its material constituents." But such a distinction is only conceivable as expressing a virtual presence, for it has no formal existence in the nature of things. Page 94, whilst ostentatiously ignoring the time-honoured formula, "under the form," he speaks of the body and blood of Christ as "in undefinable identification with the bread and wine." Surely, if this statement escapes the extreme note of blasphemy, it is only by emphasizing the word "undefinable." See, too, p. 246. "It is, I venture to think, useless to argue with too great exactness about the word *is*" in the formula of institution. "It describes very various kinds of identification."

Page 121. He protests against what he calls the "materialistic" conception prevailing "in Roman theology and books of devotion," according to which the indwelling of Christ in communion is limited to the persistence of the elements. The conclusion to be drawn from such criticism as this is surely that Canon Gore does not recognise any real substantial presence of Christ "*sub forma*," in virtue of the sacrament, for that must inevitably cease with the sacrament that produced it; whereas the spiritual indwelling of grace, which is the principal effect and intention of the sacrament, may last indefinitely.

Page 203-4. "The Church, in the well-known formula, is to be the extension of the incarnation. The whole Christ is to consist of the head and the members sharing the same life. And from this point of view it is impossible to doubt that the Fathers would have resented the sharp distinction drawn in recent theology between the 'natural' body of Christ—in heaven and (according to the terminology referred to) also in the Eucharist—and the mystical body, the Church." Now we are perfectly aware of the immense stress laid by the Fathers, St. Augustine particularly, upon the unification of communicants in the mystical body of Christ as the special object of communion.

But to deprecate "a sharp distinction" between the eucharistic body of Christ and the association of those who receive it is hardly compatible with the recognition that the body received is verily the body born of the Virgin and crucified for our salvation.

Page 279. He allows that "the mediæval doctrine that 'the whole Christ is present in each particle of either kind' can hardly be *denied* by anyone who affirms the indivisible spiritual unity of the living Christ;" and yet in the same breath he brands the position as the outcome of "a very fallible logic of sacramental presence," and denies that it can be safely acted on. Thus, with a scepticism as irrepressible as the fork of the sons of Eli, he withdraws what he has himself offered and defrauds his own sacrifice.

Page 234. He commits himself to the position that "our present formulas leave the question of the objectiveness of the presence an open one; so that we are not justified in calling one another heretics for holding or denying it." With this we may contrast Dr. Pusey's sermon, February, 1867: "These truths I would gladly have to maintain, by the help of God, on such terms that, if (*per impossibile*, as I trust) it should be decided by a competent authority that either the real objective presence, or the Eucharistic sacrifice, or the worship of Christ there present (as I have above stated these doctrines) were contrary to the doctrine held by the Church of England, I would resign my office." The difficulty with Dr. Pusey was not, as it would seem to be with Canon Gore, to find the "objectum fidei," but to find "a competent authority" to gainsay it.

And now I think I have shown that Canon Gore can hardly be said to believe anything deserving the name, according to ecclesiastical usage, of a Real Presence. He is my sixth and last witness to the position that transubstantiation is a practical necessity if we are to maintain a real substantial presence of Christ, "sub forma," to be exhibited as an object of worship. Unless we can say in effect, "This is no longer bread, it is the Lord," the bread is the subject in possession, and the predicate is but a

qualification : Divine if you will, a grace, a participation in the Divine life of the highest order, but not "the Christ of God." Two views, and two only, can be said intelligently to divide the field between them—the theology of the figure, that is, the belief of the higher sacramentarians ; and the theology of the fact, or transubstantiation. To uphold the former there are considerable arguments and a respectable collection of texts, but you must ignore the Fathers and their traditional interpretation of the Scriptures altogether.

Transubstantiation is the explicit doctrine, as we have seen, of several of the Fathers. It is the implication of almost all of them. It has been the increasingly predominate note in the progression of theological thought. It fulfils Newman's tests of a true development in that its triumph is here and there formally anticipated, whilst everywhere it is gradually matured. It is the fulfilment of the mind of the Church, that is to say, the mind of the Holy Spirit manifesting itself in the broad features of doctrinal development, from time to time registered in the decrees of councils and of popes, but something more than they. The opposition to it in the ninth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries was the opposition of a handful of scholars who thought, with Canon Gore, that they had a mission to reform, or perhaps I should say refine, the Church. This was markedly the case with Berengar, who is never tired of denouncing what he calls the "*vecordia vulgi*" (page 33), and protesting (page 35) "that the crowd of fools in the Church are not the Church." And the same is true of Wiclif, who, although he knew how to tickle the mob with his revolutionary proposals, yet when exhibiting his scholastic subtleties on the Eucharist, is sufficiently contemptuous of the "*grossi*" who know no better.

When we come to the Reformers, Continental and English, Luther and Calvin, Ridley and Latimer, Jewel and Guest, to whom Canon Gore pays the compliment of assigning a *locus* of more or less authority, we find ourselves confronted by men whose one idea is not so much the amendment of abuses as the erection of an effective

barricade against Rome ; who are ready to sacrifice almost any doctrine or rite, however time-honoured or salutary, provided its precedent be not altogether too imposing, if only by so doing they might, to use Luther's phrase, effectually gall the papists ; whose scholarly instincts at the same time prompted them to adorn their modern style with any tag of patristic phrase they might light upon in their studies ; as who should say, we are come of a very old stock after all.

Canon Gore has no sympathy whatever, it would seem, with development ; he has, however, with the reverse process. On more than one occasion he congratulates the English Church that she " returns to the earlier and more ambiguous language of St. Augustine " (page 148). And, I am sorry to say, under the auspices of Keble, treats the " objective presence " as an open question, because of " the absence of any real Catholic decision on the subject." As though any possible decision could do more than equal the universal acceptance of East and West. In matter of fact, nothing less than transubstantiation was the explicit teaching of the whole Church for centuries before the Reformation. Page 220, Canon Gore endeavours to set aside the force of this argument by suggesting that in all probability East and West would never have accepted a common formula in a free council. It is sufficient to insist upon the fact that the Greeks, whose rôle it was to object, and who certainly magnified their office, neither in council nor out of council, found anything to object to beyond the point of unleavened bread, either in the doctrine or practice of Rome ; and that no one as yet has established any difference in their formulæ.

On the subject of the Eucharistic sacrifice, Canon Gore is less out of touch with Roman Catholic doctrine. Nevertheless, as might be expected, the uncertainty of his hold upon the real presence affects his understanding of its sacrificial aspect. Page 157, he says : " There can be no question that from the earliest days the Christian Church thought of the Eucharist as a sacrifice." Page 177, " It is impossible to deny that the word *propitiatory*, in a wider sense, may be applied, and from the days of Origen has

been applied, to the Eucharist." That is to say, God is propitiated by each offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, not by an exhibition of any fresh merits achieved by these sacrifices, for *in patria* Christ can no more merit, but by a special application of the merits of Calvary to those who participate in the sacrifice commemorative. So far we are at one with Canon Gore. But when (page 175) he insists "the death, or the humiliation which belongs to death, is commemorated only, not renewed or repeated. When the Fathers speak of an 'immolation,' *i.e.*, a fresh sacrificing of Christ in the Eucharist, they are referring only to the symbolism of the sacrament, not to its inward reality"—I must protest that this is a wholly inadequate statement of the case, and quite irreconcilable with the admission that the Mass is a "propitiatory sacrifice." The bare commemoration as such of a sacrifice is not in itself a sacrifice, otherwise Da Vinci's "Cœna" would be a sacrifice. What the Mass gives us is the same Victim, the same High Priest, though now acting through subordinate ministers, and the same merits that were achieved upon the Cross once for all, but are represented and pleaded again and again upon the altar in distinct acts of oblation. St. Isidore Hispal., "*de Corp. and Sang. Dom. Ed. Areval*," Tom. vii., p. 316, thus finely expresses the intention of the Mass: "*Ut, quia quotidiana et indefessa currebat pro hominum salute redemptio, perpetua etiam esset redemptionis oblatio.*"

Canon Gore (page 179), referring to the common view of theologians that some "destruction is required of the object sacrificed to God," declares that "it is quite contrary to ancient opinion." I would observe that theologians generally are satisfied with something short of destruction. A fundamental change suffices to express their idea of the worship of sacrifice.

It would seem that modern research (see Prof. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites") has established that the root idea of primitive sacrifice is not, as theologians have supposed, the recognition of the Divine supremacy by a quasi-annihilation, but the participation of man in a common feast with God at God's table, in which the guests

enter with their host into relations of kindred, analogous to the communion of bread and salt amongst the Arabs. Now granting that this is altogether correct, we still have in the sacrifice asserted more emphatically than ever the reduction of the victim to a state of food, in the form of cooked meat for the offerer, and a sweet savour for the Divinity.

Moreover, into the idea of the sin offering, to which both the sacrifice of the Cross and the Eucharist specially belong, there certainly enters the conception of vicarious satisfaction.

Professor Smith (p. 309) would seem to admit that "the death of a victim was originally regarded as a surrogate for a human sacrifice" (cf. p. 439). Eusebius (*Demonstrat. Evang. lib. 2, c. 10*) tells us that "men thought that they had contracted a debt for their salvation to Him who had given them life and a soul," and with this idea offered the life of brute animals.

Canon Gore refers, with nothing less than horror—"it is exceedingly difficult to bear the statement," are his words, (p. 179)—to the opinion of de Lugo and Franzelin, which makes the point of the Eucharistic sacrifice the reduction by a mystic death of the sacred body to the condition of food.

Now, I am not concerned to defend this hypothesis, which is but one of several entertained by theologians. It may or may not mark the particular point of the sacrifice. But anyhow, the state of comparative "exinanitio" is a fact, and is only one of the many apparent incongruities which mark the relations of our Lord in heaven with His creatures on earth, and which will last until the consummation of all things. He reigns in glory at the right hand of the Father, and He condescends to seek the sheep that had been lost. It is not a sufficient condescension that He should be the bread of angels and of saints. He is also the food of penitents—nay, exposes Himself to the desecration of the traitor's kiss. Hear St. Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps. lii., Tom. iv., p. 486*): "Who brings forth and is in anguish? The faithful know well, from thence they spring. Here Christ brings forth, here Christ suffers, the Head is



above, the members below. How otherwise than as bringing forth and suffering pain would He have cried out, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?'

In Ps. xxxix. 12, "His body is offered and served to those who partake of it." And again, directly bearing upon the point (Enarr. in Ps. xxxvii. 6), "Unless He had been humble He would not have been eaten and drunk." That is to say, He undergoes the humiliation of the mystic death as preparing to become our food. Nay, in the same context the very word "exinanitio" is used—"semetipsum exinanivit ut manducaret panem angelorum homo."

Canon Gore makes much of this view, a passage from pseudo Albert, and an imputation on Catharinus he seems not to have taken the trouble to verify, as proof that in insisting upon the absolute sufficiency of the Cross as regards both original and actual sin, "we are not now, and our forefathers in the sixteenth century were not, fighting a phantom." Nay, I should say, without the slightest hesitation, that the German reformers were deliberately raising a false issue, and that their English brethren merely followed suit. They had nothing whatever to go upon, except the passage from the pseudo Albert. Catharinus "de veritate incruenti sacrificii" (page 170) is absolutely clear that the sacrifice of the Mass "has its efficacy from that bloody sacrifice of which it is the commemoration." Moreover, he did not write till twenty years after the charge had been made in the Augsburg Confession. For his various eccentricities Catharinus was the *bête noir* of most of his Catholic contemporaries, and if he had gone astray on this point, would have represented no one.

The famous Catholic controversialist, Albert Pighius, in 1541, thus enforces his protest against Melancthon and his party at Augsburg (Controv. v. p. cli.-ii.): "We would have them admonished that they have not been, and are not acting honourably in their 'Confession,' in fastening upon us an opinion such as might increase private masses to any extent; that Christ by His passion only satisfied for original sin, and instituted mass by which an oblation might be made for our daily sins, mortal and venial. I, for my part, after having been for several years familiar with



the schools, where there is a vast latitude of assertion for the discussion of anything, for disputation's sake, and the more assured beating out of the truth, have never heard, have never read, of an opinion of the sort uttered by any one. Neither do I think that anyone could be produced, whether schoolman or other, to maintain such an opinion; and even if they had found one, they would not have acted honourably, if they had fastened one man's folly upon the lot of us, who have never heard nor read the like among us, and should asperse, defile and traduce our doctrine among people who are ignorant of these matters, and who are trusting to their word."

I have no wish to take Canon Gore otherwise than seriously; but can he really persuade himself that when the Church was engaged in a death-struggle with heretics, who were denying the whole sacramental system, it was the rôle of honest churchmen to tear her liturgy in pieces, in which her doctrine of the sacraments had found expression, and this on the plea of ousting an opinion which is never mentioned by Catholic divines without reprobation? No; when we have learned to believe that burglars break open safes in order to uphold the standard of silver, and not before, shall we find it credible that Cranmer and his associates engaged in their work of havoc in order to bar the possibility of a reading universally recognised as false.

I find it hard to understand how anyone who is in earnest in his belief in the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice can tolerate the Reformers. Whatever else they did or did not do, they certainly robbed the English Churchman of this twofold possession which to believers should be beyond price. That they justified their burglary for the most part in very good English, and proved themselves, many of them, to have the courage of their opinions, should, one would think, plead but feebly in their behalf. The iniquities of the Reformers were first brought home to the leaders of the Oxford movement by Hurrell Froude, whose influence in this respect was very marked both upon Keble and Newman. Pusey, on the other hand, with an amiability that was almost vicious, could never persuade himself that anyone "did wrong but with just cause."

They were succeeded by a generation, of whom we may instance Dr. Littledale, which carried on the tradition of hostility to the Reformers. But it has been now long recognised that this was polemically a mistake, and the *mot d'ordre* was emphasized by Archbishop Benson—that if Anglicans are to hold their own against Rome, the reformers must be swallowed whole, must be accepted as godly men with rough hands but honest hearts, whom God raised up to execute the necessary if somewhat painful task of separation from the Romish tyrant.

Canon Gore is only carrying out the same policy in his present volume in which, amongst much drapery of patristic illusion, he erects a very modest and comprehensive platform, upon which but few of any party within the confines of Anglicanism need shrink from finding themselves; whilst those that hang back may hardly escape the imputation of pedantry or churlishness. He insinuates (pp. 224-5) that the faults of the Scribes and Pharisees which Christ would not allow to prejudice the authority of their doctrine; yet when found among the prelates of the Church somehow ground a right on our part to supersede them by an appeal behind the Church to the Word of God—a very attractive bit of Protestantism—whilst he deftly uses some expressions of Cardinal Newman to "blunt the edge" of a piece of Catholic doctrine. I note that he is largely accepted by moderate Churchmen, and even Low Church agitators (see a recent number of the *Spectator*) are fain to confess that a view as harmless as Canon Gore's need never have provoked their assault. He is wise, as it seems to me, with a wisdom surpassing that of the children of light.

With regard to the reference (page 93) to Cardinal Newman's statement of Catholic doctrine ("Via Media," ii., p. 220), I would observe, (1) that the Cardinal does not say that our Lord is not "in loco" under the Eucharistic forms, but only that He is not "in the same sense 'in loco'" that He is in Heaven. Or, to use St. Thomas's expression, He is not in the sacrament "in loco sicut in loco," or "localiter," that is to say, with a dimensional correspondence to the place. That this is the Cardinal's

meaning is clear from his introduction of the passage from the Council of Trent "as a sort of text" to a *catena* of passages from Bellarmine and Billuart. Conc. Trid., sess. 13, c. 1, "Nec hæc inter se pugnant, ut ipse salvator noster semper ad dexteram Patris in cœlis assideat juxta modum existendi *naturalem* et in multis nihilominus aliis locis *sacramentaliter* præsens suâ substantiâ nobis adsit." That is to say, He is present in the various tabernacles provided for Him, "sub specie," without any dimensional correspondence therewith. He is there "substantivè," not because His substance only is there, for He is there "in loco," whole and entire in His Divine and human nature when not "ex vi verborum," then by concomitance: but because in virtue of His glorified state He can be present anywhere, and in the sacrament is present, "per modum substantiæ," spiritwise and undimensionally.

Strictly speaking, as the Cardinal says, "He does not descend from heaven upon our altars," because without leaving His throne in heaven He enshrines Himself in the various tabernacles which consecration offers Him, without Himself incurring any shadow of change. And when the species are moved from one place to another there is a change in His surroundings, of which He is only indirectly the subject. At the same time we must remember that there is just as much justification for speaking of His descending upon our altars as there is for the phrase "descendit de cœlis" embodied in our creed. A piece of anthropomorphism is necessary in the one case to express the condescendence of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity in the Incarnation; in the other, to express the fact that whereas His human nature was once in heaven only, it is now really and substantially upon our altars as well. There are doubtless various speculations, various deductions, which go to make up the scholastic theology of transubstantiation, of which the Fathers knew nothing. It may well be that some of these have not in all respects proved advantageous: that piety and even truth might have gained, had a hand, at once strong and discreet, been able oftener to enforce a theological closure. One is tempted sometimes to regard an animated scholastic dis-

cussion on the Trinity or the Eucharist as we should the contest of workmen upon the sheer ridge of a cathedral roof, with a nervous dread of the hostile abysses surrounding them. But this is often because we do not take into account the confidence generated by the atmosphere of a common faith which girds them round, and in which they claim the right and privilege of winged creatures to move without reproach.

On the whole, the audacious application of the dialectic to the things of faith has resulted in a fulness and consistency of doctrine which has clothed the Church as with a panoply of proof from head to foot. And even where we might deprecate an over elaboration of scholastic subtleties "*in re eucharistica*," yet the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, of Transubstantiation, remains intact; nay, because of the keen and sometimes rough accost of the human intelligence, is the less likely to become that flaccid creation of 'aye and no' affected by Canon Gore, with its leaning towards "earlier and more ambiguous language." At the worst, it is but as a dance of swords in which, within the circle of intermingling steel, a stately figure moves in mystic measure, serene, unscathed amid the threatening homage. "*En lectulum Salomonis, sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel omnes ferentes gladios et ad bella doctissimi.*"

H. I. D. RYDER.

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## ART. II.—ANGÉLIQUE ARNAULD.

*Angélique Arnauld.* Par R. MONLAUR. Paris : Plon-Nourrit. 1901. In-8 de 406 pp.

THERE is, perhaps, no sadder spectacle than that of a noble soul, framed for heroic deeds, arrested in its upward flight by evil influences, and led thereby to waste its powers in unworthy undertakings.

Such is the impression that is left upon the reader whose historical studies have led him to make acquaintance with one of the most gifted Frenchwomen of the seventeenth century, an epoch singularly rich in striking individualities.

The story of Angélique Arnauld, the famous Abbess of Port Royal, is not only deeply interesting from an historical point of view, it has also an element of pathos that appeals chiefly to those who are familiar with the earlier development of her very marked personality. To the public at large she is best known as she appeared in later days, when pride and hardness had become her chief characteristics ; the story of her brave and beautiful youth, with its trials and its triumphs, its high aspirations and heroic self-sacrifice is comparatively unknown ; yet it is this story that invests even her later errors with the pathetic element to which we have alluded. When in a subsequent paper we are led to witness the destruction wrought in her nature by the evil teaching of one man, our judgment will be more lenient if we remember her girlhood cast among adverse circumstances, and which was nevertheless so pure and so noble in its isolation and neglect ! Who knows how far these circumstances may have pleaded in her favour before the throne of Him, who being infinitely wise, is also infinitely

merciful; how far the neglect of her early training may have influenced her after life, and thereby lessened her responsibility. Angélique, or rather Jacqueline Arnauld, to give her the name that she received in baptism, came of a race whose characteristics stand out in strong relief. The Arnaulds were of ancient lineage; many members of the family had filled important posts under the Valois kings, and though they did not belong to the old nobility of the kingdom, they were connected, somewhat remotely, it is true, with different noble families, a fact to which they attached much importance. One of our heroine's grandfathers, Monsieur de la Motte, became a Protestant; his children professed the same creed, and in Angélique's Jansenistic proclivities, some of her biographers have traced the influence of her Huguenot descent.

The Arnaulds were undoubtedly a gifted family: intelligent, active, energetic, and persevering; but their pride and self-sufficiency were as remarkable as their indomitable spirit. The sequel of this paper will exhibit their ideas of parental duty in a curious light; it will show also that in spite of much external dignity and blameless private lives they could be, when it suited their interest and ambition, utterly unscrupulous as to ways and means.

Antoine Arnauld, our heroine's father, was, by profession, a barrister, whose speeches, pompous and wearisome though they seem to us, excited the enthusiasm of his contemporaries. In 1585, in the full flush of his celebrity, he married Melle. Marion, whose father was a famous lawyer. The young couple had twenty children, and Madame Arnauld seems to have been absorbed by the care of her family and household, while her husband pursued his career and made himself conspicuous by his violent onslaught on the Jesuits, who, at that time, were at war with the Paris University. Nothing can exceed the violence of his language when addressing the unfortunate Fathers, whose colleges he describes as "the workshops of Satan, in which have been hatched all the murderous plots concocted in Europe for the last forty years." It is

difficult to believe that arguments such as these can have injured the Jesuits in the opinion of any sane person !

Jacqueline, Antoine Arnauld's second daughter, was born on September 8th, 1591, and she seems from her babyhood to have been her grandfather's special favourite. M. Marion had become Councillor of State, "*avocat général*" of the Paris Parliament, and, moreover, he had received from Henri III. a patent of nobility. His house was much frequented by his learned friends and colleagues, to whom he delighted to show off his little granddaughter. She grew up by his side, among his books and papers, a singularly precocious and attractive child. Unfortunately M. Marion's partiality for the little girl manifested itself in a manner which was neither judicious nor conscientious, although it was in accordance with the ideas of the age in which he lived.

Antoine Arnauld's family was rapidly increasing, and the old man knew that it would be no easy matter to secure good marriages for the five daughters that had lately been born in quick succession. He, therefore, decided that his darling Jacqueline, instead of making a poor or indifferent marriage, should be endowed with an Abbey, and thus provided with an honourable, comfortable and safe home. No misgiving as to the justice or prudence of such a proceeding seems to have crossed his mind. Three centuries ago, the cloister was a natural refuge for the daughters of noble and impoverished families; and parents appeared utterly unconscious of the responsibility and risk that they incurred when they condemned their helpless children to a life that only a special vocation can make acceptable. To become a nun was the common lot of nobly-born but portionless girls; to become an Abbess was a favour to which only a privileged few could aspire; and both M. Marion and his son-in-law were convinced that they were giving little Jacqueline an unusual proof of affection when they moved heaven and earth to attain the desired result.

At the period of which we write, a considerable number of French convents and abbeys were much relaxed in their discipline; many of them were merely respectable



homes where a number of well-born, refined, and disappointed women lived harmless and quiet lives, under the cover of a religious habit, and where the Abbess enjoyed a separate apartment, a comfortable income, certain honours and privileges, and that halo of worldly consideration so dear to the hearts of the Arnaulds.

Having made up their minds that their pretty and precocious Jacqueline should wield a golden crozier, M. Marion and his son-in-law set to work to accomplish their purpose. They were skilled in intrigue, and extraordinarily tenacious in carrying out any project upon which they had set their minds; moreover, they were in high favour with the King, and they seem to have enlisted, without much difficulty, the good offices of the Abbot of Citeaux.

In the end, they obtained even more than they had at first hoped for, and secured a home for two daughters instead of for one; the Cistercian Abbey of Port Royal was promised to Jacqueline, and the Benedictine Abbey of St. Cyr to her younger sister Jeanne. However, a last difficulty had to be overcome before they could feel that their object was really attained. In order to counteract the abuses that had crept into the religious orders in France, the Court of Rome energetically refused to sanction the appointment of mere children as Abbots and Abbesses, and Jacqueline being only eight it was probable that the Bulls that made her appointment valid would not be forthcoming. Arnauld and his father-in-law were not easily baulked of a purpose they had at heart, and without the slightest hesitation they added several years to the age of the candidate when they wrote on her behalf to Rome.

The little girl herself was unconscious of these intrigues; only, one day, when she was as usual sitting in her grandfather's study, the old man asked her if she would like to be a nun. "Not a mere nun," he added, "but an Abbess, to command others." The child hesitated, and many years later she owned that her first thought had been one of regret that, being the second not the oldest daughter, she might not marry. However, she answered yes, that she would become a nun if her grandfather kept his promise and made her an Abbess. Jeanne, who was younger and



more timid, protested that she preferred being a simple nun, because she had heard that superiors were responsible for the souls of their subjects, but Jacqueline's bolder spirit accepted the burden from which her sister shrank: "*I will be an Abbess,*" she exclaimed, "*and I will make the nuns do their duty.*"

With some difficulty, the Abbot of Citeaux, who was evidently more anxious to please the Arnaulds than mindful of the responsibilities of his office, prevailed upon the Abbess of Port Royal to accept Jacqueline Arnauld as her coadjutrix and future successor. But, though she yielded so far to the injunctions of her superior, "*Madame de Port Royal*" had no wish to take little Jacqueline under her wing; and, pending the arrival of the papers from Rome, the child was sent to the Cistercian Convent of St. Antoine in the Faubourg St. Jacques, in Paris. Here, on the second of September, 1599, she took the habit, for, in their eagerness to secure the coveted post, the Arnaulds were unwilling to delay any longer. To those who looked beneath the surface, it was pitiable to see the snow-white habit of St. Bernard laid on the shoulders of the unconscious child of eight, whom the ambition, rather than the piety of her parents, was condemning to a life, the grave obligations of which she could not understand, and which, had she grasped their import, might have seemed to her unbearable and odious.

For the time being, however, she merely realized that she was the central figure of a "*fête,*" and this she thoroughly enjoyed; all the more so as the nuns vied with each other in petting the precocious little novice.

After a short sojourn at St. Antoine, Jacqueline went to the Benedictine Monastery of St. Cyr, where she spent a whole year in company of her little sister Jeanne; but in June, 1600, she was removed to Maubuisson, near Pontoise, which, being a Cistercian house, seemed a more fitting place for the training of a future Cistercian Abbess.

The most worldly home would, however, have proved a safer school for Jacqueline Arnauld than Maubuisson at this particular phase of its history. Its Abbess was Angélique d'Estrées, the sister of Henri IV.'s favourite:

"La belle Gabrielle"; the latter, whose code of morals can scarcely have been very rigid, used to accuse her Cistercian sister of "disgracing their family," and Madame de Maubuisson fully deserved the imputation. She and her nuns kept open house and spent their time feasting, dancing, and hunting; the company they received was anything but desirable; and it is difficult to understand how Antoine Arnauld—who, whatever his faults may have been, was a man of blameless private life—can have allowed his innocent child to be educated in such an atmosphere. The only explanation is that Madame d'Estrées belonged to an influential family in favour at Court, and that ambition was Arnauld's master passion.

Little Jacqueline passed unscathed through the ordeal. Her extreme youth, her innate purity and nobility of character, and, let us add, the watchful care of Providence, preserved her from any grave evil; but, as may be imagined, her religious instruction and spiritual training were completely neglected. When, on one occasion, Madame d'Estrées took her to Amiens to receive Confirmation, it was found that she knew nothing about the Sacrament, beyond its mere name.

Yet she was remarkably responsive to supernatural and elevating influences. By instinct she loved prayer, and the Passion of Our Lord moved her to tears. Had any wise and holy counsellor crossed her path at a time when her character was forming, how differently her future life might have shaped itself! As it was, she grew up uncontrolled and uninstructed, with noble aspirations and instincts that none of those who surrounded her could direct or even understand.

Meantime, her father had experienced a keen disappointment. Although he had added several years to his daughter's age when he petitioned Rome to sanction her election as Abbess, she was still considered too young, and the necessary approval was therefore withheld. Arnauld was not a man to relinquish his object without a struggle. Jacqueline having taken the name of Angélique at her confirmation, out of compliment to Madame d'Estrées, her father wrote to Rome to solicit new Bulls of approval in

favour of "Angélique Arnauld, a nun, aged seventeen." This time the stratagem succeeded: in the person so described, the Roman officials failed to recognize the eight-year-old Jacqueline, and they duly confirmed her election; but in after years the remembrance of her father's unworthy trickery was a source of sorrow and uneasiness to its innocent object.

In 1600, Jacqueline, or rather Angélique Marie de Ste. Madeleine, to give her the religious name by which she was known henceforth, became a professed nun, and on this occasion, Madame d'Estrées, who loved pomp as well as pleasure, organised a splendid festival. She herself donned the white robes, which on her shoulders must have seemed a mockery, and in her hands she bore the golden crozier, symbol of her office; at her side knelt the little girl, on whose baby lips the solemn vow must have had a strange, and, to those who looked beyond mere appearances, an ominous sound!

Two years later our heroine's stay at Maubuisson came to an end. In July, 1602, Madame de Boulehart, Abbess of Port Royal, died and her young coadjutrix and successor, accompanied by Madame Arnauld, took possession of her new post.

The solitary valley, which even now is one of the most picturesque spots in the neighbourhood of Paris, must have presented a somewhat severe aspect to the little girl, accustomed as she was to the mundane atmosphere of Maubuisson. The remote situation of Port Royal in its narrow ravine, surrounded by thick woods, made it difficult of access; moreover, the convent was poor, the buildings were literally crumbling away, and the community had dwindled down to twelve religious. It was, perhaps, to these circumstances that we may attribute the fact that there was nothing at Port Royal of the pomp, luxury and dissipation of Maubuisson. The nuns were ignorant and indifferent; they had no high ideal of religious life, and had entered the convent because their families had wished them to do so; but their lives, if slothful and frivolous, were at any rate harmless enough, and their amusements were those of children. Their confessor was an old monk, who could

not even recite his "Our Father" in French, and whose chief recreation was shooting. Except on rare occasions, when the clothing of a postulant attracted ecclesiastical visitors to the Abbey, its inmates never heard a sermon or religious instruction of any kind. They received Holy Communion on all great feasts, except, however, on the Purification, when they were too busy à *faire des masques* in honour of the Carnival.

In the past, Port Royal could boast of a glorious history ; its foundress was a noble lady, Mathilde de Garlande, the wife of a Montmorency, who built the Monastery to draw down God's blessings on her crusading lord. For many long years the Cistercian rule in all its purity was observed by the nuns, and the valley was the home of prayer and penance. Then evil days came ; the religious diminished in number, their fervour slackened, the primitive rule fell into disuse, until at the close of the sixteenth century the once flourishing abbey presented a pitiful aspect of material and moral degeneracy.

Its inmates seem to have been not only childish in their amusements, but also singularly helpless in the management of their temporal affairs. They were shamefully robbed by their servants and dependents, who lived in plenty, while the unfortunate religious were obliged, on abstinence days, to be content with two eggs a piece for their day's portion.

Madame Arnauld, a careful and capable manager, was much shocked by the discomfort and disorder that reigned at Port Royal, and diligently set to work to organize the housekeeping department. She also used her influence to bring about the election as Prioress of Catherine Dupont, a good and sensible woman, but who, strictly observant of the rules of etiquette, insisted on treating the little Abbess with a deference that the latter highly appreciated. All the nuns, the Prioress included, were under thirty, and their official Superioress was now a child of eleven !

On the 29th of September, 1602, the lonely valley of Port Royal was unusually animated ; the broad highways that now lie between Paris and the ruins of the famous abbey, and

along which, on fine summer days, motor-cars and bicycles may be seen in numbers, did not exist in the seventeenth century, but over the rough roads jolted the coaches of the gay or learned friends of the Arnaulds, who came from Paris to assist at the Blessing of the new Abbess.

Three neighbouring Abbesses: Madame des Portes, from St. Cyr; Madame de Carnazette, from Gip; and Madame d'Estrées, from Maubuisson, were among the guests; but, strange to say, contrary to her custom, little Angélique seemed indifferent to the excitement that reigned around her.

It had been arranged that she should make her first Communion on the day of her Blessing, but no one troubled to prepare her for the solemn act; only a poor shoe-maker, who worked for the Community, ventured to present "*Madame de Port Royal*" with a prayer book in honour of her first Communion.

As she knelt in her high seat of carved wood, the attention of the brilliant assembly was centred on her tiny figure, but for once she forgot that she was the heroine of the day; her eyes were riveted on the book, the humble gift of her poor dependent, her lips moved in prayer, and her childish untaught soul was evidently wholly absorbed in meditation.

Angélique Arnauld was now anchored, for better or for worse, in her new life—a life that to one, endowed as she was with a strong intellect and a passionate heart, was, in the long run, to prove flat and wearisome. The scandals that dishonoured Maubuisson were, it is true, unknown at Port Royal; but the nuns, if harmless, were unintellectual, uneducated and exceedingly childish. Their existence was bare of the earthly joys that give life an earthly interest, and it was also bereft of those supernatural aspirations that make renunciation and self-sacrifice acceptable and even sweet.

For the present, however, the Abbess was still a child, whose days passed happily enough. The night office had been changed from two o'clock to four to suit her convenience, but it must be confessed that "*Madame de Port Royal*" showed no inclination for long prayers, and that

her place in the choir often remained empty. Her happiest hours were those she spent playing in the garden with her little sisters Jeanne and Anne; they were both educated in the neighbouring Convent of St. Cyr, where their sister's coach was often sent to bring them back on a visit to Port Royal.

In 1602 an unexpected call from Henri IV., who was hunting in the neighbouring woods, made a pleasant break in the monotonous routine of daily life. Antoine Arnauld happened to be at the monastery, and he promptly organised all things for the sovereign's reception. Mounted on high-heeled shoes to give her small person extra dignity, the young Abbess gave the illustrious visitor a fitting welcome. Henry was equal to the occasion: he remembered that he was not at Maubuisson, and his downcast eyes, recollected demeanour and devout language give us a novel and unexpected picture of the "joyeux Bearnais."

The next day the royal huntsman again passed through the valley, but this time he only called out as he rode by under the convent windows, "The king kisses the hands of Madame l'Abbesse."

Although it was a model of respectability when compared to other Abbeys, to Maubuisson for instance, Port Royal had degenerated greatly since the early days of its foundation. The primitive rule of Citeaux was no longer observed; for instance, the nuns were supposed to be strictly enclosed, yet visitors to the Abbey roamed about the conventual buildings as they liked. The lonely situation of the convent made it difficult of access, and for this reason its visitors were few and far between; but when the clothing or profession of one of the nuns attracted the relations and friends of the heroine of the day, the Abbess kept open house and received the gay company with traditional hospitality.

Madame Arnauld seems the only one of Angélique's relatives who realised that the position of the eleven-year-old Abbess had its dangers. Practically her own mistress, for the Prioress treated her with humble deference, Angélique might easily have become a second Madame

d'Estrées, and her mother acted wisely when she prevailed upon Madame de Jumeauville, a lady of experience and real worth, to come and live at Port Royal as governess to the young Abbess. She showed equal prudence when she persuaded her daughter to give up paying visits outside the convent ; but having thus, according to her lights, provided for her child's safety, she considered that her maternal mission with regard to "Madame de Port Royal" was duly fulfilled. Well meaning though she was, and, in her own way, attached to her daughter, she seems to have had no misgivings as to the wisdom of forcing upon an unconscious child a career of renunciation that only a direct call from heaven could render worthy or even bearable.

The time was come when Angélique was to realise that her life was a mistake, and though, strangely enough, the discovery never affected her love for her parents, it was a cause of long and bitter suffering to herself. As long as she was a mere child, she seems to have been perfectly content ; the nuns treated her with a mixture of respect and indulgence that she enjoyed ; it was only when she grew up beautiful, gifted, full of undeveloped powers, that the emptiness of her life dawned upon her. This frivolous, useless existence, which was but a hollow mockery of religious life, could not satisfy a nature like hers, and by degrees the dignity for which her father had schemed, which he had secured at the price of a gross deception, became a source of disgust and horror to her. The amusements that satisfied her companions wearied her ; her religious habit became hateful ; the narrow valley felt like a prison ; and when her Huguenot aunts came to see her, she passionately longed to go away with them.

Her whole soul yearned for a fuller, freer, more active life ; for the natural affections and interests, from which, without any choice of her own, she had been cut off.

At last her mental struggle against adverse circumstances told gravely on her health ; and her parents, who were alarmed at her melancholy although they had no suspicion of its cause, took her home. Here she remained for several months, weakened in mind and body. Her relations did their best for her according to their lights, but they



unconsciously added to her suffering by showing her, under its most attractive aspect, the world from which she had been severed before she knew what the sacrifice implied. With a view to amusing her, they surrounded her with the intellectual and brilliant company that her father loved, and that she herself was fitted to appreciate. At last, however, her sadness, broken only by fits of sudden and forced gaiety, made her parents wonder whether their daughter's prolonged depression was not caused by mental anguish rather than by physical weakness, and they finally came to the conclusion that she was disgusted with the life they had chosen for her.

It is characteristic of the Arnaulds that this discovery filled them with dismay, rather than with pity or remorse ; and, instead of endeavouring to lighten the burden that was crushing their child's soul, they only sought to render her escape impossible. One day her father entered her room, and without a word of explanation, he bade her sign a paper that he held in his hand. She cast her eyes on the document, and discovered that it was a renewal of the dedication she had made of herself to religious life eight years before. It flashed across her that her father had guessed her secret, and that he was determined to bind her to her post at whatever cost ; with a dreary feeling of her own helplessness, she signed the paper that condemned her for ever to a life she abhorred. Such, however, was Angélique's innate respect for her father, that in after years, when relating this incident to her nephew, she framed excuses for him, and pleaded that "he meant well."

On December 16th, 1607, the young Abbess returned to Port Royal, and the valley in its winter garb must have had a depressing effect on one whose mental and bodily condition was at that time far from healthy. Her arrival was greeted with delight ; for this woman, whose nature was neither affectionate nor gracious, excited throughout her life the passionate love and devotion of those with whom she lived ; even at a time when she was a mere girl, whose gifts of intellect and character were yet undeveloped, the sad and proud "Madame de Port Royal" was believed in and worshipped by her companions and dependents.

The winter passed wearily enough, but with the spring came the wonderful and blessed change that was, in one moment, to transform Angélique Arnauld's inner life.

On the 25th of March, 1608, a travelling Franciscan monk knocked at the convent door, and in return for the hospitality extended to him, he craved permission to preach to the nuns. At first the Abbess was inclined to refuse, but, on second thoughts, she decided that a sermon might take the place of compline, little dreaming that the hour had come when, like the woman of Samaria, she was to hear the Master's direct appeal.

The preacher was no orator, but he spoke with earnestness and devotion of the sufferings and humiliations of the Incarnate God and, such as they were, his words sank into the heart of at least one of his listeners. Although invested with a high ecclesiastical dignity and its attendant responsibilities, the young Abbess was utterly ignorant of all that concerned the spiritual life ; now, for the first time, her untrained soul seemed to grasp the beauty of Christian sacrifice for the love of Jesus Christ. New vistas opened before her mind, and she realized, with startling vividness, that the life she hated might be transformed so completely as to satisfy all her aspirations.

The monk was young, and this circumstance made her shrink from speaking to him in private ; but though she kept her secret for some months longer, her inner life began from that day to undergo a complete change. The duties that had seemed so repulsive were now sweet and welcome ; the fetters she once detested became dear to her ; she, who found the recitation of office so irksome, now prayed incessantly day and night. The slight changes, which in compliance with the custom of Port Royal, she had made in her dress, were suppressed, and instead of linen cuffs she wore rough serge that made her wrists bleed. One of the nuns was afflicted with a horrible ulcer, which during several months the Abbess washed and dressed daily ; but these acts of renunciation did not satisfy her awakened aspirations towards a perfect life, and she debated within herself

whether it was not her duty to leave Port Royal and become a lay-sister in some obscure community.

Her first confidant was a Capuchin monk, named Father Bernard, who was old and austere, but also, as events will prove, impetuous and imprudent. Angélique opened her heart to him on Pentecost Sunday, 1608, and he warmly encouraged her in her generous resolve ; but, thinking to fall in with her views, he somewhat prematurely preached a terrifying sermon to the community upon the necessity of a thorough reform. The nuns, who had not gone through the mental experiences that had transformed the inner life of their Abbess, were startled and indignant at his denunciations, and the Prioress thought it her duty to remonstrate with Angélique upon the folly of disturbing the peaceful routine of the monastery by ill-timed changes.

When Father Bernard returned to Port Royal some time afterwards he brought with him another monk, Father Pacificus. They found the young Abbess somewhat disheartened at the unresponsiveness of her community, and more inclined than ever to become a nun in a more fervent and strict convent. Father Pacificus approved, but Father Bernard indignantly cried : "Go and tell your father what you intend to do ; you will soon see how he will receive you. No, Madame, remain here and reform your Abbey."

Angélique yielded, but the task that lay before her might well have daunted even her high courage. After all, she was only a girl, and had no one at hand able to advise or support her. The nuns were attached to her personally, but they were distinctly opposed to any change in their monotonous but quiet routine. Father Bernard was too violent and tactless to be of much use ; as for the Abbot of Citeaux, the direct Superior of Port Royal, he treated Angélique's first attempts at reform as the exaggerations of a headstrong girl, and somewhat mischievously complained of her to her father, whose indignation could not have been greater if his daughter had fallen into the scandalous ways of Madame de Maubuisson. Indeed, the young Abbess having gone on a visit to her family, was

subjected to regular persecution ; her long prayers, her coarse serge dress provoked mockery and reproach, and she realized, with painful vividness, that if she persevered in what her conscience now pointed out as the path of duty, she could expect no support, either from her religious superiors or from her relations.

However, to a character such as hers, opposition had no terrors when the voice of duty was clearly heard. The ideal of religious life, such as she now understood it, had laid too strong a hold upon her soul for her to relinquish it at the bidding of men ; and convinced that God, for whose sake she suffered, would never fail her, she bravely set to work.

It so happened that the Advent of 1608 was preached at Port Royal by a Cistercian, Monsieur de Vauclair, who seems to have entered into Angélique's plans. To him she made a general confession, but the responsibilities of her office still weighed her down, and the want of sympathy of her community discouraged her, so that at times her old longing to fly from Port Royal returned in spite of the preacher's exhortations. Her mental struggles and evident anxiety at last struck the nuns ; they were neither intelligent nor fervent, but they had a genuine love for their Abbess, and in their simple way they tried to comfort her. When at last she told some amongst them that she was haunted day and night by the conviction that she ought to bring back her Abbey to its primitive state of fervour, they advised her to speak openly of her desire to the community. She did so, and the remainder of the religious, who were already impressed by her austere life and continual self-denial, were now fairly carried away by her eloquence. They began to practise holy poverty with great goodwill, and Monsieur de Vauclair, having spoken abroad of the "little Abbess," and of her reform, Cistercian nuns from other convents came to seek admittance at Port Royal.

Monsieur Arnauld himself was pleased and flattered by his daughter's reputation, and his vanity reconciled him to a line of conduct, of which he had disapproved before it had been sanctioned by public opinion. He possessed the

gift of turning circumstances to account, and he now wrote to Pope Paul the Fifth to confess, with apparent remorse, that he had once made a false statement respecting his daughter's age in his anxiety to obtain the Bull that was to sanction her election; but, he added, "God had nevertheless blessed his child in a visible manner, for, although so young, she had already reformed her Abbey." The letter produced the desired effect, and the Pope overlooked the father's trickery in his admiration for the young reformer.

Monsieur Arnauld, however, found his daughter's conduct less admirable when, having re-established the practice of holy poverty, she proceeded to enforce the rule of inclosure, which, like other monastic observances, had fallen into disuse. The nuns were eager to obey her in all things; but their relations and friends, who had hitherto enjoyed free admittance into the convent, were less docile, and Angélique felt that she must give an example of the privation she exacted from others by excluding her own family from the monastic buildings. This was no easy matter: both Monsieur and Madame Arnauld, in different ways, were of considerable use to Port Royal. We have seen how Madame Arnauld's careful management had brought the housekeeping department into some degree of order. Her husband acted as general overseer of the lands belonging to the Abbey; in his daughter's name he gave employment to the peasants and workmen of the neighbouring villages, and while he thus improved the condition of the estate he made "*la petite Madame de Port Royal*" universally popular. In moments of penury he generously came to the assistance of the community, and he was, naturally enough, looked upon as a privileged person, who was free to do much as he pleased within the Abbey.

Angélique knew that it would be difficult to convince him that in future he must submit to the common rule, and be allowed to enter only the buildings that were outside the enclosure. She began by writing to her mother and to her elder sister Catherine, and begged them to inform her father that she could no longer allow him to enter the

Abbey without "sinning against her conscience." The two women, probably fearing an explosion of wrath, delivered the message somewhat vaguely, and Arnauld, disregarding its import, informed his daughter that he intended to pay her a visit on the Friday before St. Michael's Day. A grave crisis was at hand in the life of the young Abbess, and the future of the work she had so bravely undertaken depended upon the result of that eventful day. Stronger even than her affectionate remembrance of her father's many acts of kindness towards her community, was the habit of implicit submission that had always marked her relations towards him, even when she had grave cause to blame his conduct with regard to herself. Now, for the first time, her will was to measure itself with his, and the despotic lawyer was to recognize, to his cost, in the girl of seventeen, the indomitable Arnauld spirit.

The scenes that we are about to relate are famous in the annals of Port Royal, and present a curious medley of ludicrous and pathetic incidents. Angélique was on her knees, praying fervently, when the sound of wheels, followed by loud knocking, told her that the dreaded hour was come. Deadly pale, but resolute, she went to the gate and requested Monsieur Arnauld, who was still outside, to enter the "*parloir*," appointed for visitors, adding that she would have the "*honour*" of explaining to him why she could no longer allow him free access into the inclosure.

Arnauld, who was accompanied by his son, Robert Arnauld d'Audilly, his wife and two daughters, continued to knock at the gate and to protest loudly against his exclusion; while his son, a fiery youth of eighteen, showered abuse upon his sister, whom he called a parricide and a monster.

Within the enclosure the scene was scarcely less dramatic. The frightened nuns surrounded the Abbess, some trembling and praying, others timidly expostulating that "*Madame*" was hard upon her father. At last, Arnauld peremptorily announced his intention of carrying off his two younger daughters, Agnes and Marie Claire,

who were staying at Port Royal; Angélique complied with his request that the two girls should be immediately delivered into his hands, but she was aware that he intended to take advantage of their exit to force an entrance into the forbidden precincts, and she therefore sent them out by a side door.

Agnes, a prim little maiden of fifteen, unwittingly added to the general turmoil. Indignant at her brother's violent abuse of the Abbess, she gravely remarked that "Madame was acting according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent." "Oh, indeed," cried the infuriated youth, "here is another one ready to quote canons and councils." Meanwhile, the young Abbess was fast losing patience; some of the nuns had turned against her, and even the women who were employed in the kitchen ventured to expostulate upon Madame's attitude towards her father. This was too much for Angélique's endurance. "Really," she exclaimed, "this is too ridiculous! When I was nine years old, my parents made a nun of me against my will; now they want me to break my rule and to lose my soul! They did not consult my wishes when they made a nun of me, neither will I consult theirs now that I am determined to live as a religious should do, and thus save my soul!"

Arnauld at last understood that further opposition was useless, and he consented to go to the parlor where strangers were received, and where his daughter appeared on the other side of the iron grating. But the day's excitement had been too much even for her brave spirit, and, on seeing her father, she fainted away. Arnauld's anger now turned to terror, not unmingled with remorse. The iron partition prevented him from approaching the Abbess, who lay unconscious on the floor, and he loudly called for help. The nuns, who evidently were not remarkable either for courage or intelligence, mistook his cries for a fresh outburst of fury and ran away in all directions; it was some time before they could be persuaded that their Abbess needed assistance. She was gradually brought back to consciousness and laid on a couch, close to the "grille." Here she talked to her



father to such good purpose that Arnauld yielded to her remonstrances, and probably at heart he admired the resolution of the girl, whose intellectual and moral superiority became from that day a recognized fact among her relations. Henceforth, he made no more attempts to enter the forbidden precincts, but, as his practical talents were of real use to the community, the Abbot of Citeaux, who was the General Superior of Port Royal, authorized him to continue his general superintendence of the lands that belonged to the Abbey.

Madame Arnauld remained a whole year without seeing her daughter, and this from a scruple of conscience that gives us a poor idea of the extent of her religious instruction. In the first moment of indignation at being herself treated as a stranger, she vowed never to return to Port Royal; and although she longed to see her child, whom, after her fashion, she really loved, she considered that this promise was sacred, and nothing would induce her to break it. At last, she was told by someone wiser than herself, that rash or sinful vows are not binding. Much relieved, she instantly ordered her coach and drove off to Port Royal, to the great joy of the Abbess.

After this signal victory, the work of reform advanced rapidly. "Madame l'Abbesse" gave a bright example of penance, self-sacrifice, and monastic perfection. On the 7th of May, 1610, she renewed her solemn vows, and, for the first time since, as an ignorant child, she had been forced into the cloister, she made her solemn promises with a free and willing heart, and a full comprehension of their meaning. A complete transformation had taken place in her soul, and the yoke that had seemed so heavy was now dearer to her than life itself.

The years between 1610 and 1618 may be considered as the golden age of Port Royal: the primitive rules of Citeaux, in all its austerity, was practised by the nuns with extraordinary fervour. Their life was a hard one. They rose at two o'clock all the year round to attend matins, and, what seems to us unusually trying, did not go to bed again. Their time was divided between the recitation of Divine office, manual labour in the garden, or private prayer

in their cells. At first they were allowed to speak several times a week, but gradually the Abbess enforced the practice of perpetual silence, and many of the religious remained for over six weeks together without uttering a word. They slept in their woollen habits, and their food and lodging were of the simplest description. The Abbess, whose dignity entitled her to the use of a private apartment and oratory, renounced these privileges, and henceforth her crozier and her seat in the choir alone distinguished her from the other nuns.

The reputation of Port Royal soon extended far and wide. In the degenerate communities, that were, alas, too plentiful throughout the kingdom, were many souls whose aspirations towards a more perfect life could not be satisfied by their surroundings, and these flocked to the quiet valley, where an Abbess of eighteen had realised the very ideal of religious life.

Madame de Port Royal received all earnest postulants with large-hearted generosity; she cared nothing for money or for rank, and only demanded that the new comers should have a "solid vocation." Her generosity was, indeed, one of her chief characteristics. During the disastrous wars that followed the death of Henri IV., the neighbouring peasants and their families sought shelter at the Abbey, and although her own community was extremely poor, she assisted the homeless and starving refugees with unstinting kindness. No wonder that for miles around she was revered as a saint and obeyed as a queen. If she happened to leave home for any time, as soon as news of her return spread through the valley, the peasants and beggars went to meet her, and it was surrounded by these humble friends that "Madame l'Abbesse" made her entrance into her dominions.

She abolished the lavish and mundane entertainments that used in former days to take place at the convent on festive occasions; but poor priests and monks were always made welcome, and among those who often sought her hospitality was a Franciscan friar, well-known in the religious circles of the day as Father Archange de Pembroke. He was by birth an English nobleman,

and seems to have been not only a very holy man, but also unusually winning and sympathetic. When he was out on his apostolic missions, he was obliged, on account of his age and infirmities, to ride a donkey from one village to another, and on these occasions a number of poor people generally formed his escort. The gentle old monk professed a warm admiration for the young Abbess; alluding to her large-hearted generosity, he often said to her: "You ought to be called, not Madame de Port Royal, but Madame de *Cœur* Royal."

By degrees, Angélique Arnauld became known beyond the valley where she reigned supreme. Court ladies sought her counsel and sympathy, and one of them, Marie de Gonzague, having become Queen of Poland, remained her constant correspondent. Within the Abbey, five of her sisters had gathered round her, and some years later they were joined by her mother and by six of her nieces. The first to come was our old acquaintance Jeanne, better known by her religious name of Agnes. When a child of eight she had been made Abbess of St. Cyr, but after a severe illness she resolved to relinquish her dignity and to join Angélique. From that time, 1611, Agnes became her sister's right hand, and in later days she, unfortunately, shared her rebellion and her errors. Agnes had the Arnauld self-sufficiency, and when a child used to wonder indignantly how it was that she was not born a princess; but she had also a strong tendency to mysticism, and her mind was more subtle and less vigorous than that of her elder sister. Older than both Angélique and Agnes was Catherine, the eldest daughter, whose unhappy marriage to Isaac le Maitre ended in a separation. When her six children no longer needed her care, Catherine took the habit at Port Royal, but, in the meantime, she divided her time between her home duties and the convent, which she considered as a second home. She was less gifted than Angélique, but sweeter and more indulgent towards others. Anne Eugénie, who was younger than Agnes, was extremely pretty, refined, elegant, and fond of amusement; for a long time she turned a deaf ear to her elder sister's

remonstrances ; but in 1616, she too entered Port Royal, and after a few days of anguish, she experienced a radiant peace and happiness that never left her. Marie Claire was younger still, and cast in a different mould from her elder sisters. She had nothing of the Arnauld pride and hardness ; a filial love for the Blessed Virgin and an adoring admiration for Angélique, were the chief characteristics of her tender soul. If later on she shared her elder sister's errors, it was from a blind devotion to one whom she revered rather than from any personal sympathy towards a doctrine, which must have been peculiarly repugnant to her soft and loving nature.

We feel tempted to linger indefinitely over these holy and happy years : God had once more drawn good out of evil, and, in the life that had been forced upon her by unfair and iniquitous means, Angélique Arnauld had found the fulfilment of her noblest aspirations. The restlessness and anguish of other days, the aching void and bitter regrets, were past and gone. She was now at peace with herself and with others ; at the head of her fervent community, she appeared a second Teresa, whose influence was destined to bring forth plentiful fruit.

In 1618, Providence seemed to set a sanction upon her work of reform by calling her to accomplish a similar mission, among circumstances at once difficult and dangerous. Our reader doubtless remembers Madame de Maubuisson, the unworthy Abbess, under whose doubtful patronage little Jacqueline was trained. Henri IV. had treated "la belle Gabrielle's" sister with extreme indulgence ; but Louis XIII. was less tolerant, and after vainly endeavouring to persuade her to change her ways, he had recourse to more stringent measures. In 1618, Madame d'Estrées was forcibly removed from Maubuisson, and imprisoned in a convent in Paris, and Madame de Port Royal appointed to reform the Abbey.

Angélique started amidst the tears of her community, and the hostile reception she met with at Maubuisson might have dismayed one less courageous. The nuns had entered religious life without any vocation—their one

thought was to spend their time as gaily as possible, and they, not unnaturally, preferred Madame d'Estrées' lax rule to the state of things established by the new Abbess. After some time, however, the arrival of thirty postulants, who willingly adopted the reform, somewhat modified the attitude of the elder religious; their opposition became less violent, and things might have been brought into some degree of order had not Madame d'Estrées suddenly appeared at the Abbey on the 6th of September, 1619. She had escaped from her prison, and accompanied by her brother-in-law, the Comte de Sanzei and a body of armed men, she lost no time in reaching Maubuisson. Her supporters remained concealed outside the church, while the ex-Abbess boldly walked into the choir where the nuns were chanting office; and, after thanking Madame de Port Royal for having replaced her, requested her to resign her authority immediately. This our heroine declined to do without the permission of her ecclesiastical superior; whereupon, at a signal from Madame d'Estrées, de Sanzei and his men burst into the church. A hand-to-hand struggle ensued: Madame de Maubuisson tried to push her rival out of the chapel, but the nuns, who "from lambs had become lions," seized Angélique by the waist and held her fast. Madame d'Estrées having snatched hold of the other Abbess's veil, her own veil was torn off her head by an indignant sister. At last, however, Madame de Port Royal was hustled out of the church by the armed men and put into a coach, but her nuns clung to her tenaciously; nine or ten of them got inside the carriage, others hung on to the wheels, so that the coachman was afraid to drive off. In order to avoid further scuffling, Angélique finally got out of the coach, and marshalling the thirty nuns who remained faithful to her, she proceeded on foot to Pontoise, where the people received her as a martyr. The following evening she was informed that Madame d'Estrées had been expelled from Maubuisson by 150 men sent for the purpose, and she immediately decided to return to her post. Again the thirty nuns formed in a procession of two and two; in the darkness they walked along the quiet country roads back to Maubuisson,

escorted, we are told, by archers on horseback and by priests bearing lighted torches.

It was at this period of her life when the reform of Maubuisson and its attendant episodes brought her prominently before the public, that the most attractive saint of modern times, St. Francis of Sales, crossed the path of Angélique Arnauld.

She had long wished to know him, and her joy was great when, in 1619, he came to Maubuisson for the first time. He returned at intervals, and on one occasion spent several days at the Abbey. From the first, our heroine seems to have given him her entire confidence; the letters she wrote to him have been unfortunately lost, but many of his answers still exist, and they give a pleasant picture of the penetration and tact with which the saint directed a soul whose "extraordinary" powers, to use his own words, had won his interest and admiration, but in whom his keen eyes discovered certain dangerous tendencies, which, as yet, were hardly perceptible to the world at large. Pride, which in her case was a family failing, had been developed in Angélique by recent events, and, in spite of her generosity to the poor, "Madame de Cœur Royal," as Father Archange de Pembroke called her, showed a certain hardness and contempt for others in her dealings with the degenerate religious of Maubuisson. In his sweet and winning way, St. Francis lays particular stress on the practice of humility, peace and spiritual joy. He begs his new daughter to avoid extraordinary penances, and to serve God simply and lovingly; he exhorts her to be indulgent towards her nuns, and above all things, to beware of spiritual pride and self-consciousness.

The young Abbess fully appreciated the value of this clear-sighted director, and, wishing to live more entirely under his guidance, she asked him to receive her in the Order of the Visitation he had lately founded. Her father was now dead, and Port Royal was in safe hands, her sister Agnes having been appointed coadjutrix. However, St. Francis seemed in no hurry to yield to her pleading, although Madame de Chantal, who warmly admired young "Madame de Port Royal," was eager to

count her among her daughters. In a long letter, written in 1621, to the Jesuit Father Binet, St. Francis enters fully into the question ; his appreciation of Angélique's unusual gifts is clearly expressed, but he evidently recoiled from assuming upon his own responsibility so grave a decision, and he was resolved to submit it to the Court of Rome.

While the affair was still pending, St. Francis was called to his reward in 1622 ; Madame de Chantal left Paris about the same time ; and Madame de Port Royal, deprived of her wise and holy adviser, seems to have put aside any thought of relinquishing her office.

We are inclined to wonder what might have happened had she been allowed to carry out her wish. Would her haughty spirit have bent itself to the rule of the Visitation, and, after the death of St. Francis, would she have retained the child-like attitude that his personal influence could command ? Did a prophetic instinct guide the saint when he resisted Angélique's ardent pleadings and Madame de Chantal's warm advocacy of her friend ?

After five years' sojourn at Maubuisson, our heroine returned to Port Royal, leaving Madame de Soissons, a princess of exemplary conduct, at the head of Maubuisson. She found her own Abbey peaceful and flourishing ; from afar, she had been its guiding spirit ; and Agnes, her second self, carried out her wishes in all things. Times had changed indeed ; instead of the twelve ignorant and indifferent nuns who had greeted little Jacqueline Arnauld on her first arrival, over eighty fervent and zealous women, heroically devoted to their rule, were there to welcome "Madame l'Abbesse," when after a long exile, she returned to her post in 1623.

Would to God that the life of our heroine had closed upon this serene and glorious page of her history ! Had it done so, her memory would have descended to posterity as that of one of the noblest abbesses of the Order of Citeaux ; and among the great servants of God in the seventeenth century, Angélique Arnauld might have ranked at no great distance from St. Francis of Sales and St. Jeanne de Chantal, her director and her friend.



In a subsequent article, we shall be led to study the destruction wrought in her singularly gifted soul by the evil teaching of one man. We shall see, alas, how under his influence her efforts were misdirected, her aspirations checked, her faculties of mind and heart hardened and narrowed ; how a life, so rich in promise, closed in darkness and unrest.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

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## ART. III.—PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

"*The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.*"  
 ALFRED CALDECOTT, D.D. 1 vol. 428 pp.  
 Methuen & Co. 1901.

PHILOSOPHERS of the many schools, and not least among these Catholic students, will give to Dr. Caldecott's careful presentation of the various doctrines of English and American writers upon the Philosophy of Religion the cordial welcome which it deserves. The author does not, as the title of his work might lead one to expect, deal with the binding relation which exists between the soul and God—a subject exhaustively treated in Catholic text books of ethics. He goes further back than this : for he limits himself to extracting from the writings of a considerable and highly typical number of theologians and philosophers their methods and results in the study of I. Q. 2. a. iii. of St. Thomas—" *an Deus sit?*" With reference to their methods of solving this problem, he conveniently arranges them into a series of thirteen groups or "Types," the general doctrines of which he develops in chapter I., leaving the distinct teaching of their authors or defendants, with the exposition of the individual processes in virtue of which they are allocated to the different types, to chapter II.

The whole work is marked by the author's spirit of accurate and painstaking analysis, clear terminology—although in many cases not that of the schools—and great freedom from a reading of personal views into the expositions. It is regrettable that Dr. Caldecott has not developed his own theistic position either as a preface or as a supplement to his "Philosophy"; for, although he would fall naturally under one or other of the thirteen

types, it would be instructive to know the intrinsic value which so careful a student sets upon the various systems leading to what he calls belief; and this can only be partially gathered from the phrases of which he makes use in writing upon the methods of others.

I have said that Catholic Philosophers will welcome this volume. It presents succinctly, and at the same time more or less popularly, the shades of thought ranging from the intuitivist position to that of the man who throws aside intuitive ideas, conclusions of reason, tendencies of nature, "needs," consensus—everything, in fact, that has at one time or another been held up before thinking men for admiration and use—in favour of revelation alone.

The reasonableness—nay, the necessity—of the Vatican decree is strongly borne in upon the mind considering, one after another, the later types of English theism. That God exists, and that this can be certainly known from natural data by the ordinary light of human reason, is an article of faith. It is not only temerarious to deny it; it is heretical. But the fact that Catholics are bound to *believe* the existence of God and the natural demonstrability of such a proposition, in no way limits, but rather perfects, their capacity for knowledge. A clear distinction between faith and knowledge must ever be kept before the mind. Knowledge, as defined by a Catholic, is the certain and evident cognition of things derived, generally speaking, from cognition of their four "causes." In the case of God, Who has no "cause," it is the certain and evident cognition derived from the effects of His creation. Thus, while we can demonstrate His existence, we can never reach an adequate conception of His essence. Faith, on the other hand, is an intellectual assent caused by nothing else than authority, whether human or divine. And, moreover, divine faith—the theological virtue and the basis of the Christian Religion—is a gift of God. It is not innate. It is not, strictly speaking, acquired. It is given. There must be, of course, a capacity for it in the intellect, a satisfaction caused by authority in the will, and the consequent volition to believe; but the will is passive until the intellect exhibits the credible proposition, together

with the authority of him who demands faith in it ; and the intellect itself previously investigates the claim to authority which is presented to it with as great an impartiality as it uses in any other of its operations. As far as mere intellect and will are concerned, we believe revealed truth in much the same way that we believe the statements of our fellow-men. What is needed is the credibility of the proposition and the certainty of both the knowledge and veracity of the speaker. The distinction lies in the fact that the divine origin of revelation is absolutely veracious, and that divine faith is necessitated as a "gift," because the propositions emanating from such an authority are, for the most part, supra-intelligible.

The whole question is taken to a new and non-theological ground, the appeal is carried to another court, when reason undertakes to weigh, to sift, to judge the claim which divine authority makes upon her obedience. If the intellect is satisfied that there is such an authority, then, if it reveals furnished with the necessary credentials, reason will recognise these, and supposing the revealed doctrines to be a metaphysical possibility, will assent to its truth under the guidance and influence of will. It is conceivable that the will could incline the intellect to accept as true a statement neither self-evident nor capable of proof, provided there be nothing contrary to reason contained in it, and that the authority with which it is clothed be sufficient. Thus, on human authority I may believe that people whom I have never seen exist, or that a mathematical proposition is capable of proof. That the number of the stars is even, or that the principle of contradiction is false, no human authority is sufficient to establish : not the first, for human authority is not enough for such a statement ; nor the second, which is a manifest contradiction of reason. Just so, substituting divine for human as a qualification of authority, may intellect give a real assent to articles of faith, which it cannot hope to understand or verify ; to truths which it cannot discover for itself, but which come to it from without ; to mysteries, the full import of which is hidden in the impenetrable abyss of the knowledge of God.

Intellect, however, can *believe* nothing of any so-called revelation, nor can will, short of plunging into a fatal torrent of eclecticism, validly influence it so to believe, unless, first of all, it is absolutely convinced that God not only exists, but that also there is no contradiction involved in the terms of the several dogmas claiming to be revealed. Hence, of all dogmatic Theology the philosophic doctrine of the existence of God is a basis. If He *is* not, what we designate by the term "revealed truth" has no foundation in reality: the term itself is meaningless. The same attitude may be taken with regard to Moral Theology. If there is no God, what we properly understand by morality is inconceivable. The relations of dependence and duty are destroyed, and the whole series of moral systems reduced at most to a chaotic utilitarianism. Moral Law, as such, ceases to exist. We do not argue from these premises to a necessary God. This would be an inversion of order. It is intellect that first finds God, working backward and upward from sensible facts, empiric observations, to the existence of an "ens, unum, primum, immobile, primum efficiens, necessarium, non ex alio; maxime ens, bonum et optimum; primum gubernans per intellectum et omnium ultimum finem; qui Deus est."\* When such a concept of an unique entity, which we call God, has been obtained by the intellectual process, the moral law is naturally found in its proper place by starting with God as Ultimate End, and investigating the relationship which accordingly exists between the soul and its Creator. True, this is only that part of moral science which is termed monastic. The economic and social are worked out by combining the foregoing with the relations found in or necessitated by the family and state.

I can understand only two ways of this fundamental tenet being held—that of rational demonstration and that of intellectual vision. But the latter, leaving out of consideration the fact that the majority of men do not claim such vision, would limit the essence of God by the fact of its being the perception of a limited faculty, and

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\* I. Q. 2. a. iii.

thus could provide no adequate basis for the perfect and absolute authority required by revelation of super-intellectual truth. On the other hand, the former "*per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta*,"\* argues to that which is uncreate, and by a process of elimination, arrives at a conception of its essence sufficient to justify intellectually the whole superstructure of faith. Now, this may happen in one of two ways: either by the transcendental or by the demonstrative method. The transcendental mode as developed by Hegel and used by as yet a comparatively small, though perhaps growing, school placed under Type III., offers little assurance of satisfaction; and when despoiled of the support of the names of its advocates, becomes merely an *a priori* position, not even amounting to a demonstration *propter quid*. God is a postulate; no more—a postulate, it is claimed, necessary to unify the opposition between the ego and the eternal world, but not thereby ceasing to be a mere assumption. How far this differs from the system by which the existence of God is worked up to as a conclusion necessitated by known experimental facts is obvious: and in the aposterioristic proof, the idea of God is no "after-thought"† of a philosophy "already complete without it," but rather the keystone of the whole system, without which it would not only be incomplete but also unintelligible. With the establishment of the existence of God as a proved fact by one, the various collateral proofs acquire a clearer and profounder meaning: and the data afforded by nature are read with a new intensity of intellectual light. This, I think, is clear; but it in nowise militates in favour of the transcendental postulate. With the establishment of the thesis by any one of the thomistic arguments as true, we have a new datum with which to work: new light by which to read. Established as a mere assumption, it can only be magnified into a working hypothesis or, at most, a theory by which the consciousness of the ego and non-ego are more or less explained and their opposition unified. It is true that

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\* Rom. I., 20; cfr. also Wisdom. XIII. i., sqq.    † Vide p.37.

an hypothesis is often taken for proof, especially when it is useful to explain the unknown factor in known phenomena. The English mind generally seems to have adopted the hypothesis of evolution as an incontrovertible fact; and yet the assumption is so great that Catholic Philosophers stand aghast at such wholesale credence being given to a "theory" not only unproved, but which is confronted by serious and unanswered objections furnished no less by the theoretic and empiric sciences than by dogma.

No amount of hypothetical assumption, even if considered necessary for the elucidation and understanding of intelligent experience, can be taken in place of proof for the establishment of the basic truth of theism. If the existence of God cannot be held otherwise than as a so-called necessary postulate—if it cannot be proved—neither is it necessarily to be held; since, unlike the general and self-evident principles underlying thought (such as the principle of contradiction), it can be reasonably denied until satisfactorily demonstrated.

It will be seen that this Transcendental Idealism differs from the ontological argument of S. Anselm. In the one, as it is stated, we find a transition from the ideal order to the real—an inference wholly unwarrantable, and consequently of no logical value. In the other, this transition, it is true, is eliminated; but the thesis to be proved is *asserted* to be true, because without it we could not understand the experience which we possess. This, though to it a scholastic might at once retort, "*negotium suppositum*," is as much a sophism as is the assertion of democritic atomism, since without it we cannot understand the laws of affinities and multiple proportion. Both may be convenient as hypotheses; both more or less satisfactorily explain certain facts; both aid in the construction of further hypotheses, and even in the acquisition of knowledge; but both remain speculative and unconvincing, only awaiting newer and more probable theories to take their places.

And while the transcendental schools are dividing and splitting up into a multitude of sects and branches,\* the

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\* *Vide* p. 37.



cosmological and teleological demonstrations stand firm on their own merits, commending themselves and their conclusions to thinking minds as final and peremptory, because working from known data in a logical sequence and in accordance with the laws of reason.

The principal objection which Dr. Caldecott records against this time-honoured system—adapted, as it is, to the comprehension of even uneducated men—is the fact that it “involves a great leap, from finite to infinite, from contingent to necessary.”\* And yet the inference of an infinite nature for a First Cause of finite entities surely is a rational conclusion in full harmony with the laws of thought. The uncaused cause, the first and immovable entity, cannot have in itself the slightest admixture of potentiality. In one form after another the potential characteristics are removed from it. It is not a “corpus” or a composition of matter and form. It does not include the potentiality of essence for existence: and so on, until, with S. Thomas, the absolute simplicity of God is found. And from these conclusions, as new data, infinity is legitimately inferred: “Cum igitur esse divinum non sit esse receptum in alio, sed ipse sit suum esse subsistens, ut supra ostensum est (Q. III. a. 4.) manifestum est quod ipse Deus sit infinitus et perfectus.”† Again, the Necessary is proved to be such, precisely because the contingent cannot be the cause of contingent entities; because these necessitate the existence of an entity which lacks the limiting note of contingency, which is absolutely incapable of non-existence; and which, therefore, necessarily exists. In both these argumentations the aposterioristic element only is to be found. The cause is inferred from the effects and not *vice versa*. That the ultimate conclusion is wider than the premises; or, to be more exact, that an entity of a different order from that of the entities placed in the original premises,—that in short, an Infinite—is inferred from finite and limited data does not change

\* *Vide* p. 21.

† 1. Q. VIII. a. 1. ad calc. corp. Note here the transition from “esse divinum” to “ipse Deus;” from the existence already proved to the essential infinity and perfection inferred.

the nature of the proof. The note of infinity does not enter as a term into the conclusion of the existence of God. It pertains to essence; and existence of a first cause once proved argumentatively, is found by elimination to be true as predicted of it. The note of necessity in the third "via" of S. Thomas is reached in the same manner. The data of the argument is the world of contingent entities. This undoubtedly exists; and since "quod possibile est non esse, quandoque non est," a cause is required to explain the fact of its being. Thus far the essence of the ratiocination. It is stated by Aquinas as if the Necessary were immediately demonstrated from the contingent—probably because the elimination is so patent. What is the cause that brings contingent beings into existence? It cannot be itself contingent. Therefore it is Necessary.

The further objection, or rather the cavil, of post-Kantian philosophy\*—that reason only satisfies itself with the assertion of a necessary cause, and that no objective actuality is attained, perceived or proved—has its foundation in Kant's perverted categories. If it be true that ideas are the product of reason alone; that the inclusion of predicate in subject is purely ideal; that intellect cannot assert real characteristics of external objects or derive from them an ideal concept necessarily responding to a real entity; then no knowledge of any kind is possible: science and philosophy alike become purely empiric, or rather, scientific conclusions resolve themselves into a quasi-confirmation of ideal speculation. That such a process is contrary to ordinary experience is obvious. The sense-perceptions of singular and contingent entities necessarily generate a confused idea of universality to which they correspond—some one thing that can be predicated of many singulars. Such a universal is not found in nature as represented to us: indeed, even if it were there, sense-perception would not be capable of apprehending it. Yet the fact that all men use such ideas in the expression of their most ordinary and common

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\* *Vide*, p. 22.

judgments, shows that a logic inherent in the human mind requires consent to such a process. The philosopher takes this confused idea and applies to it the searching scrutiny of trained intellect. He, too, is satisfied with the process of abstraction and its result. Now, as they do this, so both learned and unlearned, the one using the undeveloped faculty, the other trained and systematised intelligence, assent to the necessary reality of a necessary cause as the result of their individually more or less strict argumentation.

Starting with the well-founded supposition that we are totally unprepared to believe in the revelation of supra-intellectual truth, such as that of the Trinity, until we have been thoroughly satisfied intellectually as to the primary basis upon which such revelation must rest, the consensus argument may be appealed to in connection with an *a priori* inference borrowed from Theology. If, then, there is a God, if He has given to all a revelation requiring the assent of faith, His existence must be capable of proof accommodated to minds which, though untrained, are capable of grasping it, so that all men can justify their belief. We are led to expect, therefore, an argumentation which proceeds from the known to the unknown according to the ordinary working principles of reason. Such demonstration we find in the arguments derived from causality and teleology, grades of perfection, the contingent and necessary: and the consensus of adherence to these methods is their confirmation.\* This, it will be objected, is not direct proof. The hypothesis may be false, the nexus unsound, consensus of no use to help in the establishment of an argument.

On the other hand, apart from the fundamental unsoundness of the transcendental position, as it neither commends itself to the mass of humanity nor satisfies the bulk of philosophers, if fails also to fulfil the conditions which may reasonably be expected of an argument to so momentous a conclusion.

The world knows that there is a God. The man in the

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\* Cfr: p. 106, § 2.

street, casting aside all method and law in thought as a cumbersome invention of logicians, has a notion of First Cause, if vague, true as far as it goes, and derived in the ordinary way of the cosmological proof. The same may be said substituting teleological for cosmological. He will not employ correct terminology. He will say: "I feel that there is a God. My conscience announces the fact to me. Moral obligation strengthens the impression. The common-sense of mankind confirms it." But ask him to bring all these to the touchstone of reason. Why does he feel? What is the criterion of valid conscience? Whence come the obligations of the moral laws? Upon what is the common-sense of mankind based? He must fall back upon the demonstrative arguments of Aristotle and St. Thomas to justify and explain the expressions of which he has made use.

Again, leaving the Kantian objection, which rebounds upon itself and proves too much or nothing, we may seek for the genesis of this knowledge in the first pronouncement of mind upon the sense-perceptions themselves. Do we find it here? In and underlying many variables, perceived by the senses, the intellect discovers a something constant and uniform. From many individual existing things we derive the transcendental idea of being (*ens*) with its indeterminate simplicity and freedom from all notes of limitation—the analogically universal predicate of all that is. But can we predicate reality of this first "*ens reale, communiter et confuse sumptum, in actu et concretum in quidditate sensibili*"? Such a predication would be absurd. We do *not* find in nature other than individual and singular entities, and these neither commonly nor confusedly determined, but existing in one or another determinate form; and we are not entitled to claim more for our result than an universal idea, the concrete basis of which is furnished by singular things. The mind may combine their notes, and an universal be the result. It may abstract "*concretum in quidditate sensibili*" and obtain a further result. But these are necessarily *entia rationis*, with only a foundation perceived in realities. What then? Is the process by which the existence of a

"*primum ens immobile, prima causa efficiens*" of the same nature as that by which we form the vague universal concept of entity? By no means. In the one the universal result is a mere abstraction not existing in nature as an *ens reale*, so common in its notes that it can be predicated of the contingent and the Necessary, the finite and the Infinite, the temporary and the Eternal. In the other it is a real entity inferred from existing beings which we perceive *viâ remotionis* to be both infinite and necessary—whose concept we find to exclude necessarily the notes of finiteness and contingency.

A first Cause, therefore, exists; a first, immovable and necessary entity. Is this a personal God? The argument which S. Thomas\* employs to demonstrate an affirmative conclusion to this question is that of perfection. It is inconceivable that a most perfect being could lack that perfection with which He has endowed His noblest creatures. But in attributing personality to God, it must be predicated of Him, as are all other perfections—minus the limitations which we find in finite beings.

We must, then, begin anew with an investigation of the essence of personality, as we find it presented to us in finite and contingent intellectual beings. We must also further develop our knowledge of the nature of the first and necessary cause, and observe whether or no the note of personality is to be found therein. Here we are confronted with a difficulty. We have no hesitation in defining a person with Boëthius to be the individual substance of a rational nature.† Leaving the concrete, abstract personality is more vague. It is defined as the ultimate term—pure *finiens et terminans*—the nature.‡ It is not the matter or the form, not the essence or the existence, but the ultimate and real term by which these are completed and rendered incommunicable. In abstracting the absolutely distinctive note of personality we must with care eliminate all those which might lead to a purely anthropomorphic conception of the first cause. It has been said that

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\* I. Q. xxix. a. 3. corp.

† De duabus naturis. Cap IV.

‡ Cajetan.

matter and mortality are notes of personality, since all persons known in this world are material beings subject to death! Beauty and feeling,\* no less than matter and mortality, are two of these notes to be eliminated. The danger lies in the fact that we are apt to clothe our notions with much foreign to their nature; not that we divest them of their real characteristics. Is God, then, an incommunicable intellectual substance? If He is necessary First Cause and necessary intellect—and it is inconceivable that the universe could be other than the effect of intellect†—He must also, since absolutely simple, be incommunicable and substantial—or, rather, for the same reason, supersubstantial. No accidents can inhere in that from which all potentiality is excluded, nor can it enter into composition with any term as completive of itself. But an incommunicable essence terminated by itself, which is at the same time supersubstantial intellect, is a person. We do not here consider the Trinity, which is a dogma of faith, not of reason. Intellect can do no more than assert the unity of the essence‡ and deduce personality from the perfection of God.§ Revelation, without contradicting reason, attests three Persons resulting from the two immanent actions of the Deity||—a conclusion for which the rational data alone are insufficient.

What strikes one most in reading Dr. Caldecott's volume, or, indeed, in perusing the writings of philosophers generally upon the point with regard to which he so carefully collects the doctrines of their various systems, is the remarkable unanimity with which they all, in common with mankind, assert that there is some kind of a God, and the diversity of method by which they wish to justify their assertion. There must be some no less remarkable reason, cogent in itself, to account for this unanimity. It is not the conclusion which is disputed. The controversy lies in the nature of the entity whose existence is asserted, and the

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\* Cfr., p. 109.

† "It must be allowed that in the present state of our knowledge, the adaptations in nature afford a large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence."—J. S. Mill. *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 174.

‡ I. Q. xxxii., a 1. § I. Q. xxix., a 3, corp. || I. Q. xxviii. a 4, corp.

intellectual battle rages around the nature of the means by which such an existence is held to be proved. What is this reason? How is it that men give their intellectual assent to a proposition not "*per se nota quoad nos*," and yet quarrel about the road over which they pass to reach it? This seems to me to be not so difficult a question to answer. Men are all constituted alike. Their reason, to use a common expression, works in a groove. Given certain facts, the same conclusions are found to be true by all. It matters little whether they set in order their mental machinery with full consciousness and in recognised form, or whether they merely pass from fact to conclusion in a vague manner, and without actual attention. That reason can work on ideas, combining them, separating them, and inferring from them, without any direct and conscious attention being paid, either to the ideas themselves, or to the fact that the intellect is in operation, is confirmed by experience. Oliver Wendell Holmes notes this in his charming "*Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*."\* If the idea of existing entity is even unconsciously stored away in the mind, together with that of cause and effect, they do not lie entirely isolated; for when we animadvert to them, we find that the intellect has been active in deducing from them an idea of God under the form of first cause. A train of what we may call unconscious reasoning has inferred from them this new idea: but it in nowise follows that it has been inferred illegitimately; nor that a resort to intuition, idealism, or any other of the systems now so much in vogue, is necessary to justify the common conclusion of mankind. In other words, the mind has directly, and without actual attention to its own operation, formed a syllogism out of these premises, and is in possession of the conclusion.

When a man whose intellect has worked only in this non-conscious way is first confronted with the detailed and elaborate argument of which it is but a vaguer replica, he is already prepared to grasp it. He recognises in it something familiar, something to express which he lacked

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\* *Cap. VI. (p. 192. Edinburgh Ed.).*



words, but none the less in substance present to his mind. This seems to me an adequate explanation (1) of the fact that rational creatures assert the existence of a Being whom they call God ; and (2) of the further fact that the majority of them acknowledge the coercive force of the cosmological argument when once it is presented to them in its fulness. If this non-conscious reasoning is not conceded, or in the case—exceedingly rare as it must be—of a rational being who has not yet in any way exercised his intellectual faculty upon the subject, we can trace the immediate perception of the strength of such an argument and its subsequent adoption to the fact that its validity is so patent that it needs but to be presented in order that reason should immediately accept it.

There remain two points to which we may well allude in connection with this subject. The first is the exceeding importance of the establishment of the theistic thesis upon a solid and unassailable basis. The fundamental difference between Catholics and non-Catholics generally is to be found here. The true battle-ground between the Church and the Protestant sects—already deserting their old standards and showing unmistakable signs of disintegration—is not to be found in the private interpretation of Scripture, or in the question of Anglican Orders. Far back at the root of human reason lies the solution of the difficulty. God exists. He is able to reveal, and we are capable of receiving His revelation. If then historical testimony of revelation sufficiently authenticated is to be found, the question is narrowed down to something tangible. Consensus, as representing the normal result of human reason, steps in, and we have as a rule of faith the "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*"\* of Vincent of Lerins. In vain will appeal be made to stock arguments and objections. The plan of campaign will be : God found by reason ; revelation in historical records tested by the same faculty ; the Church and her absolute authority in matters of faith and morals deduced from these ; and in the whole, liberty of the intelligence from all

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\* *Commonitorium.*

but its dependence upon truth. The supreme reasonableness of Catholic teaching will commend itself on its own merits as the only system which is both coherent and possible to those who rely on their intellect as guide to and test of truth. And this point is not only limited to the difference between Catholics and Protestants. Upon it the Catholic Church takes her stand against the world. She pledges herself to it with S. Paul. The whole noble edifice of the *Summa Theologica* rises from this solid foundation. And while without, ears are itching for the words of new teachers who introduce novel theories, mystical speculations and vain systems, Catholics should rally around this natural truth, upholding it with more vigour, defending it with ceaseless care. For though many seem to ignore the fact, side by side with the tradition of revelation is another priceless deposit—the intellectual legacy of the centuries—handed down to us, which, though cogent and peremptory when properly understood, will lose much of its formal influence if allowed to lie hidden in the folios on the shelves of the philosopher and the theologian.

The second point is the position in which the Church stands with regard to the rational proof of the existence of God. It may be called an appeal to consensus.\* I prefer to see in it an appeal to something higher—to the supernatural gift of faith. Now faith pre-supposes knowledge upon which to rest; but if it is true that non-conscious reason, investigating things as they are found in external nature, produces the knowledge of God's existence (and, even if the process by which such knowledge is attained be confused, it is sufficient to justify the result), the further knowledge that others have arrived at the same conclusion through attentive ratiocination,† or the authority of the Church, already sufficiently based upon the original datum of sure and evident cognition informally derived, together with the facts recorded in the Gospel Narrative, are quite sufficient to enable one to hold the formal and elaborated arguments as valid proofs of Theism.

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\* Vide p. 233.

† (Social Theism.)

Thus Cardinal Newman may be assigned a place, not, certainly, in the forefront of philosophical enquirers, but among those whose reason works directly upon the effects caused by its non-conscious conclusions in the whole complexus of his experience. Though he may not enquire in what precise manner these effects were caused in his feeling, conscience and will, "but simply asserts his assent"\* to their convincing force, yet they cannot be supposed to be spontaneously identical, without some reference being made to a faculty which both sets them in order and verifies their testimony. And this faculty, to which their data must be brought for verification and confirmation, if they are to be trusted at all, which leads all men to God by a natural and unbroken train of reasoning, is the human intellect, the possession of which is the noblest boast of human nature. By this, man investigates the nature of created things, and through them he ascends to a knowledge of the existence of that which is Uncreate, "Simplicissimus, perfectissimus, optimus, infinitus, immensus, immutabilis, æternus et maximè unus."†

FRANCIS AVELING.

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\* Vide p. 7.

† Lorenzelli, Met. Spec., p. 1, Lect. II.

ART IV.—GRISAR'S ROME AND THE POPES  
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. *Geschichte Roms und der Paepste im Mittelalter ; mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung von Cultur und Kunst, nach den Quellen dargestellt* von HARTMANN GRISAR, S.J. Erster Band.  
Freiburg-im-Breisgau : HERDER, 1901.
2. *Analecta Romana : Dissertazioni, Testi, Monumenti dell' arte riguardanti principalmente la Storia di Roma e dei Papi nel Medio Ævo.*  
Volume primo.  
Roma : DESCLEE LEFEBVRE, 1899.

READERS of Pastor's History of the Popes of the Renaissance have often longed that some equally able and impartial writer would give us a similar history of the Popes of the Middle Ages. We have already, it is true, Von Reumont's *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, and Gregorovius's *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*; but both of these works, though they will always be of great value, suffer from the inevitable defect of not being based upon the latest researches. During the last thirty years more has been learnt about ancient Rome than in many previous centuries. The transformation of the Eternal City of the Popes into the capital of the newly set-up kingdom of Italy has involved the removal of many medieval buildings and the alteration of the level of many of the streets. Much as we may regret the disappearance of these venerable landmarks, we can console ourselves with the fact that the

work of destruction has laid bare for us the still more interesting remains which lay buried beneath. It is only fair to state that the Italian government has also undertaken numerous excavations over and above those necessitated by the Hausmannizing of the city. Scholars belonging to each of the great nations have carefully examined and reported upon the various discoveries which have been brought to light. A comparison between Canina's Map of Ancient Rome, published in 1848, and Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romæ*, now in course of publication, will show what progress has been made, and will convince us that any work founded on the earlier map must necessarily be incomplete. We cannot blame Gregorovius for not embodying discoveries which had not yet been made; but his labours are marred by another defect for which we may fairly hold him responsible. His anti-Catholic prejudices prevent him not only from doing justice to the Popes and the people of Rome, but also from really entering into the spirit of his subject. We shall frequently have occasion to notice this blemish, though we fear that to many of his readers it is looked upon rather as one of his excellencies.

There is room, then, for a new history of Rome and the Popes. The question for us here is: Will Father Grisar's book occupy the place thus left vacant? As far as can be judged from this first instalment, I confidently think that it will. He is acknowledged to be one of the very foremost archæologists of our time. He is possessed of profound and extensive learning, a clear and interesting style, and a thoroughly impartial spirit. The outspoken address which he delivered at the last Munich Congress is a guarantee that while yielding to no Catholic writer in loyalty to the Holy See, he will be unsparing in his denunciation of traditions based only on fable or fraud.

For thirty years, he said, my studies have brought me into contact with the manifold historical errors that have crept into the history and external life of the Church during the course of ages, and that are still partially preserved. Many unwarranted traditions, accounts of miracles and fabulous narratives—some graceful and poetic, others crude and extravagant—have settled in layers around the lives and miracles of God's

Saints, their relics, and the venerable shrines of Christendom. But this has not been the only source of error; lack of knowledge and of judgment, yea, even at times human passions of all kinds have been busily at work fashioning false relics and objects of devotion, and foisting them upon the worship of the faithful. These excrescences on what is sacred we must do our best to lop off: for the love of truth, for the sacred honour of the Church, and for the welfare even of Catholic Faith. For they not only provoke the mockery of our adversaries, but they may do serious harm to the faith of the less enlightened children of the Church. Frequently educated laymen have come to me, in whose hearts these foolish traditions had excited violent temptations against the Faith; a proof, indeed, that they had not a clear knowledge of the situation; for, as I have insisted, these matters are not the object of the Church's doctrinal teaching. . . . You well know the glorious sentence of Cicero, which our Holy Father Leo XIII. solemnly transcribed for the opening of the secret archives of the Vatican: "*Illud imprimis scribentium observetur animo, primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat: deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis.*"\*

Father Grisar purposes to trace the eventful story of Rome and the Popes for the space of a thousand years, and he calculates that his whole work will fill six large volumes. The volume which lies before us embraces the period from the end of the fourth century till the accession of Gregory the Great; the second is expected to carry on the story to the time of the Carlovingsians; the third, as far as the struggle about investitures. The account of the glories of the Papacy from the pontificate of St. Gregory VII. until the fall of the Hohenstaufen will be given in the fourth volume. A fifth will deal with the fortunes of the City and the Popes as far as the end of the exile at Avignon. Lastly, a volume will be devoted to the Great Schism and the opening of the Renaissance. At this stage the student will be able to pass on to Dr. Pastor's great history, so often and so highly praised in this REVIEW. An important feature is the large collection of excellent maps, plans, and illustrations. These are of the greatest service in enabling us to follow the learned author's descriptions. How often one has

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\* The whole address is given in the *Weekly Register* of June 7th, 1901.

wished that Dr. Pastor had provided us with these ! The second work, named at the head of this article, contains fifteen essays on the sources and on various questions more summarily treated in the History, *e.g.*, the *Liber Pontificalis* and the Letters of the Popes ; early Christian inscriptions ; the *Ordo Romanus* and the Martyrology ; the tombs of the Apostles ; the Roman primacy in the fifth century, &c. This handsome quarto volume also is admirably illustrated. Is it too much to hope that Father Grisar will be as fortunate as Dr. Pastor in finding faithful translators for his labours ?

The fourth century of the Christian era witnessed the greatest revolution in the history of the world. In the early years of that period Rome was the capital of a mighty empire and the stronghold of Pagan worship. Her sway extended over the fairest portions of the earth, from the Grampians to the Euphrates. Since the days of Hannibal no enemy had ventured within a hundred leagues of her gates. The spoils of countless provinces had been lavished on her adornment, and in the service of her false gods ; on her forums, her palaces, her temples, her amphitheatres, her triumphal arches. Such splendour, combined with such power, the world had never seen ; and yet already the signs of dissolution were not wanting. In those days of difficult communication no single mind could grasp the requirements of so complex a polity ; no single body could within a lifetime traverse the vast regions subject to imperial rule. Division seemed imperative, and division meant destruction. The multiplication of emperors and Cæsars during the reign of Diocletian paved the way for terrible civil wars. Then, again, a long period of prosperity had brought about widespread corruption. The days of Republican simplicity were gone ; Rome could no longer send forth the sturdy soldiery who had formerly humbled her enemies to the dust. Parthians and Goths, Huns and Vandals were thundering at her borders and hurrying on to destroy her. Paganism, so intimately bound up with the fate of the Empire was also fast crumbling away. A new system of religion, founded by a poor Workman in a far-off province,



was everywhere gaining ground in spite of the fiercest persecution. Such was the state of Imperial Rome when Constantine, rightly surnamed the Great, succeeded to a share of the supreme rule. He at once perceived the folly of the attempt to crush Christianity, and by his Edict of Milan granted the first charter of religious freedom. Later on, when he had overcome all his rivals and secured the sole control, he took a still bolder step. Recognizing that the centre of the Empire could no longer be at Rome, he transplanted the capital nearly a thousand miles eastward. These two measures, forever associated with his name—the foundation of Constantinople and the protection of Christianity—gave to the Empire a prolongation of more than eleven hundred years, and afforded to Rome the opportunity of becoming the capital of a spiritual kingdom far wider in extent than the Pagan Empire had ever been, and destined to last forever. In the brief reign of the Apostate Julian, indeed, the old religion came once more into favour, and even under his successors it continued to make desperate efforts to prolong its existence. The decisive battle of Aquileia (394), in which the principal leaders of the Pagan reaction lost their lives, gave the final victory to the Christians. Theodosius the Great entered Rome in triumph, and a decree of the Senate abolished Paganism for ever. Thus at the end of the century the twofold revolution was complete. Rome had ceased to be the capital of the civilized world, and Paganism had no longer any legal existence.

It is at this point that Fr. Grisar takes up the history of Rome and the Popes. The two centuries dealt with in his first volume are noteworthy in the history of the Church. They witnessed the fall of the old Roman Empire and the extinction of the old classical paganism, both hastened on by the destroying hand of the Goth and the Vandal; the development of Christian dogma, Christian life, and Christian art; the formation of the Liturgy; the rise of Monasticism. Above all, they record how the once imperial city, abandoned by the Byzantine Emperors, a prey to the barbarian invaders, found in her bishops her

one hope of salvation, and how these bishops converted, tamed, and educated her new masters. These are the topics which we are now to study, with Fr. Grisar as our chief guide.

A pilgrim, visiting the holy places of Rome in the first half of the fifth century, could not fail to be struck with the marvellous transformation going on around him. As he drew nigh to the great city and passed through the rows of tombs which lined the way, he would find here and there, among the countless Pagan epitaphs, inscriptions breathing the spirit of the Christian faith. Many a pagan emblem would he see defaced; many a statue cast down from its niche, and lying headless upon the ground. On entering the gates he would betake himself to the Lateran Palace, the home of the Supreme Pontiffs, there to obtain the blessing of an Innocent or a Leo. Next he would visit the great basilica, erected by Constantine to the glory of Christ the Saviour. As he journeyed on towards the centre of the city, palaces and temples in ruin, churches rising up in their stead, would everywhere meet his eye. First would come the church of the Quattuor Coronati, then St. Clement's, then the oratory of St. Felicitas. The colossal mass of the Flavian amphitheatre would recall the memory of numberless martyrs devoured by the beasts or slain by the gladiators. Hard by he would gaze on the arch of Constantine, recording the triumph of the Protector of Christianity. Above it on the left side, the ancient palace of the Emperors—"Cæsar's house"—now without an imperial tenant; and on the other, the splendid temple of Venus and Rome—now also silent and deserted. A little further on, the arch of Titus, with its reliefs of the spoils of Jerusalem, would bring to mind the prophecy of Our Lord, and would prove that Judaism, as well as Paganism, must give place to Christianity. Then the Roman Forum would burst into view with all its glorious temples and basilicas, courts and columns and arches. As the pilgrim passed along the Sacred Way, amidst these monuments of idolatry and imperialism, he would turn aside for a while to the little church built over against the Temple of Vesta, and

dedicated to the Virgin Mother of God. Then he would climb the Capitoline Hill, the very citadel of the power and religion of Rome, still crowned with the two temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Moneta. Descending again he would make his way under the arch of Domitian, and turning westward would pass the circus of Flaminius, the theatre of Pompey, and the church of St. Laurence, built by St. Damasus, the Pope. As he drew nigh to the Pons Ælius, by which he would cross the river, he would admire the huge mausoleum of Hadrian, not yet shorn of its splendours, though already serving as a stronghold. But as an old homily, once attributed to St. Leo, takes care to tell us, no pilgrim ever thought of pausing to visit Cæsar's grave; all hurried on to the tomb of the Fisherman. The great basilica, hastily constructed by Constantine, had no external beauty to commend it. By its side, partly built into it, was the ruined circus of Nero, where the infamous tyrant had ridden round as a charioteer while the burning Christians lit up the night. Now at last the weary pilgrim reached his goal. Mounting on his knees the steps leading up to the great doors, he entered that on the extreme right—Guidonea—and passing through the long rows of columns, prostrated himself before the gilded shrine which contained the bones of the Prince of the Apostles.

The condition of the city, as we have just considered it, was the outward and visible sign of the change going on within. No long-established institution can be suddenly extinguished by any legislative act. Decay must already have set in; and though dissolution may be hastened on by external causes, the effete body may linger on for years. So it was with Paganism. Constantine perceived that it was hopelessly corrupt, and turned to the Gospel as the only instrument of the reformation of the Empire. His plan was to remove the heavy hand of persecution from the new religion, without, however, oppressing the old. Both were to be on equal footing, with just a little favouritism shown to Christianity. This wise policy of allowing Paganism to die a natural death was not followed by his sons. A law, made in 341, ordered the cessation

of "superstition," and punished all who should dare to offer sacrifices. In 353 the penalty of death was enacted against the adorers of idols. Divination, too, was severely prohibited. But these laws, except the last-named, were practically a dead letter in the West; and even in the East were not strictly enforced. No single case can be cited of any Pagan suffering death on account of his religion. Gratian (375-383) was the first emperor who openly repudiated the connection between Paganism and the Empire. He refused the title of Pontifex Maximus; he removed the statue of the goddess of Victory from the Senate House, and disestablished and disendowed Pagan worship. Under Theodosius the Great (379-395) all subjects were ordered to follow "the faith which the Roman Church received from the Apostle Peter," as professed "by the Pontiff Damasus, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria."\* His legislation against Paganism consisted in the gradual prohibition of heathen worship, at first in public and finally (392) in private; but the Pagans themselves were treated with great tolerance.

"The profession of Christianity," says Gibbon, "was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyments of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries who credulously received the fables of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the Gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the Senate were filled with devout and declared Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the Empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Symmachus; and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius; and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism were never required either to change or to dissemble their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophical remains of Eunapius, Zosimus, and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries."†

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\* *Cod. Theod.* xvi., 1, 2.

† *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxviii. How differently were the Catholics of Ireland treated by their Protestant persecutors!

Before the struggle between Paganism and Christianity was at an end, a third party entered into the conflict. The death of the great Theodosius was speedily followed by the revolt of the Goths, now led by the bold and skilful Alaric. They first overran Greece. Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and a hundred other cities famous in ancient Hellas, were taken and sacked by the barbarians. Next they turned their attention to Italy. Towards the end of the year 402 they crossed the Alps, and advanced as far as Milan. Honorius, the degenerate son of Theodosius, fled to Ravenna. All Italy seemed at the mercy of the invaders. But the intrepid Stilicho hastily collected an army from Gaul, Germany, and Britain, and inflicted two severe defeats on Alaric, one at Pollentia (Easter Sunday, 403), the other at Verona. The Romans, thus delivered from the fate of the Grecian cities, clamoured loudly for a triumph in the good old style. None had been celebrated for just a hundred years, since the days when Diocletian and Maximian had brought back the spoils of Egypt and Britain. Honorius yielded to their request. With Stilicho, the real conqueror, by his side, he entered the Eternal City. The old route was followed, along the Via Sacra leading up to the Capitol; but now no heathen priests were in the procession; no sacrifices were offered in the temple of Jupiter. The tomb of the Fisherman was the spot venerated by the Emperor.\* One bad custom of the heathen times was, however, revived. The Colosseum, once the scene of so many martyrdoms, was now thronged with Christians sitting on the benches, eager to gaze on their fellow human-beings butchering each other. Suddenly a weird figure leaped down among the combatants, and in a loud voice bade them in the name of Christ lay aside their arms. The infuriated spectators hurled stones at the intruder; and the unhappy gladiators, whose lives he would spare, turned upon him and slew him. His blood was not shed in vain. Honorius abolished the infamous spectacles, and directed

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\* "Imperator venit Romam. Quo festinat? Ad templum imperatoris an ad memoriam piscatoris?" These words of St. Augustine (*in Ps. cxl. n. 21*) are not said of Honorius especially, but of the emperors generally.

that Telemachus (such was the hero's name) should be counted among the victorious martyrs.\*

In this incident we perceive both the bright and the dark side of Christianity on the eve of the downfall of Rome. The task of leavening the mighty festering mass of corruption was not to be accomplished without evil results on Christianity itself. The noble doctrines of the Gospel concerning rich and poor, master and slave, ruler and subject, were already undermining the received pagan notions of the supremacy of might over right. The utter decay of family life was arrested by the inculcation of the duties of husband and wife, parent and child. Brilliant examples were not wanting of the lofty ideal set up by Our Lord.† But many Christians there were who were Christians only in name; whose lives only differed from those of the worst Pagans by the addition of the vice of hypocrisy. St. Jerome singles out the clergy and monks for special denunciation; St. Ambrose the effete officers of the army. Both these great Fathers almost rival Juvenal in the fierceness and scorn of their invectives.‡ A later writer, Salvianus of Marseilles, bewails, like another Jeremias, the downfall of the city, and, like the Prophet, ascribes its woes to the wickedness of its people.§

Before the final crash came, there seemed to be a gleam of hope. A mighty host of Celts and Germans was

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\* Theodoret *Hist. Eccl.* v. 26. Combats with wild beasts continued to be held in the Colosseum until the Middle Ages.

Jam solis contenta feris infamis arena

Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.

PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Symm.* II. 427

† Father Grisar devotes some interesting pages, adorned with admirable illustrations, to the labours of Pammachius, Paulinus, and others at this time. (Pp. 40-51.) The account of the recently discovered house of SS. John and Paul, on which Pammachius built a church in their honour, is especially worthy of note.

‡ St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxii., *Ad Eustochium*; *Ep.* cxxv., *Ad Rusticum Monachum*; St. Ambrose, *De Jejuniis*. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, *Hist. lib.* xiv.

§ *De Gubernatione Dei*, in eight books, composed about the middle of the fifth century. Some of the most striking passages are quoted by Father Grisar, pp. 55-57. "Quid potest nobis esse vel abjectius vel miserius? . . . Totus Romanus orbis et miser est et luxuriosus. . . . Moritur et ridet. . . . Offenduntur barbari ipsi impuritibus nostris. . . . Castos etiam Romanos esse fecerunt. . . . Nemo sibi aliud persuadeat, nemo aliud arbitretur: sola nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt."

routed by Stilicho, near Florence (A.D. 405). Once more the Romans indulged in festivities to celebrate their deliverance. A triumphal arch was erected to Honorius and his colleagues, "Victorious all the world over." Stilicho was honoured with a statue of bronze and silver in the Forum, and his troops also had their monument. All these trophies were adorned with bombastic inscriptions setting forth how the war was at an end, how the Goths were annihilated for ever. In less than three years the brave Stilicho was disgraced and foully murdered; the war had broken out afresh; and the Eternal City was besieged by the barbarians. Truly Rome has now reached the depths of degradation. *Moritur et ridet*: it laughs even in death.\*

Thus relieved from the only opponent from whom he had anything to fear, Alaric led his hosts against Rome (408). He felt urged on in spite of himself; a voice within him continually cried, "Up, up, and destroy that city." But the lofty walls and towers, recently strengthened by the wise forethought of Stilicho, forbade any attempt at assault. A strict blockade was accordingly established. Some of the inhabitants in their despair invoked the aid of the old Pagan divinities, who had for so many centuries preserved their favourite abode from destruction. Deliverance, indeed, came; but it was by means of a heavy ransom, to raise which many of the gold and silver statues of the gods were melted down. Next year, however, Alaric was again at the gates, and did not withdraw until he had set up Attalus, a puppet of his own, as emperor of Rome. In 410, for the third time, the Gothic host surrounded the city, and this time determined to gain possession. The walls were still as strong as ever; but there were traitors within—Arians like the besiegers, and slaves expecting freedom. On the night of August 24th the Porta Salaria was silently opened, and the horde of barbarians poured in. Alaric had

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\* The very site of Honorius' arch is uncertain. The base of Stilicho's statue is preserved in the Villa Medici. In the year 1880, the inscription of the monument to the army was discovered in the Forum, with Stilicho's name erased.



given orders that the churches, and especially the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, should be spared, and also that the right of sanctuary should be respected. With these exceptions, the conquerors worked their will on the citizens and their possessions. The damage done to the buildings was probably not great;\* but the booty of gold and silver and precious stones was enormous, and the number of captives countless. The fall of the city filled the whole of the civilized world with horror. "The brightest light of the universe is gone out; the head of the Roman world is cut off; with that one city the whole world has perished." . . . "Who could believe that Rome, which was built of the spoils of the whole earth, would fall? that the city could at the same time be the cradle and the grave of her people? that the coasts of Asia, Egypt and Africa should be filled with fugitive Romans like bond-servants and bond-maids? that holy Bethlehem should daily receive those, who, from being eminent and wealthy, are compelled to wander about as beggars?"†

Alaric's speedy death in the same year, 410, delivered the Romans from the terror of his name. The city almost resumed its former appearance and prosperity. But a still more terrible foe was approaching. The invasion of the Goths had been due to their desire to escape from the hordes of Huns, who occupied the territories at the north of the Danube. As long as these latter barbarians were governed by numbers of independent chieftains, their

\* "Halaricus trepidam Romam invasit *partemque* ejus cremavit incendio." (Marcellini *Chron.* ad ann. 410).

† St. Jerome, *Prolog. in lib. I. in Ezech*; *Prolog. in lib. III. in Ezech.* Elsewhere he characteristically mingles quotations from Isaias with Virgil's description of the fall of Troy:

"Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando  
Explicet, aut possit lacrymis æquare dolorem?  
Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos;  
Plurima perque vias sparguntur inertia passim  
Corpora perque domos, et religiosa deorum  
Limina . . . . . Crudelis ubique  
Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago."

—*Æn.* II., 361 seq.

See also St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, and *De Urbis Excidio*, two works written in answer to the Pagans who attributed to Christianity all the misfortunes of Rome. Father Grisar (p. 68) defends the Saint against the unjust accusations of Gregorovius. (*History of Rome*, &c., p. 166.)

progress was arrested; but when all were united under the sway of a single ruler, they overran and pillaged East and West alike. Attila, the Scourge of God, was their king for twenty years (433-453). His attention was first drawn to the East, where he led his forces as far as the plains of Media. On his way back he ravaged the country between the Euxine and the Adriatic, and dictated harsh and humiliating conditions of peace to the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II. Next he passed on through Germany into Gaul, everywhere massacring the unhappy inhabitants and consigning their cities to the flames. Orleans alone successfully resisted his attacks; and again in the plains near Châlons the barbarians were forced to retreat (451). Italy promised an easier and richer prey. Aquileia, the richest and strongest city of the Adriatic, was taken and reduced to ashes. So, too, were Altinum, Concordia, and Padua. Indeed the whole of Northern Italy was overrun. Rome, the great prize, was now almost within his grasp. The timid Emperor Valentinian could offer no resistance. There was no hope but to appeal to the clemency of the dreaded invader. An embassy, headed by Pope Leo I., set out from the doomed city and encountered Attila in his camp on the banks of the Mincio. The savage potentate was gratified by the presence and moved by the eloquence of the Supreme Pontiff. Not only did he spare the city, but he withdrew his forces beyond the Danube into Pannonia.\*

Hardly had the Romans time to rejoice over their deliverance when their city was menaced by a third horde of invaders. Like the Goths, the Vandals had been driven westward by the advance of the Huns. They had occupied Spain, and crossing over into Africa had turned eastwards again as far as Carthage. Animated by the genius of the place, as well as urged on by the necessity of their position, they had become a great maritime power. Genseric, their

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\* Father Grisar is silent about the celebrated legend of the appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul, so magnificently represented in Raphael's fresco and Algardi's relievo. The earliest authority for the story (*Historia Miscella*) dates from five hundred years later. It is not mentioned in St. Prosper's *Chronicon*, a contemporary work, the chief source of our information about the meeting of Attila and St. Leo.

king, conceived the idea of reviving the glories of the old Punic city, and decorating it with the spoils of Rome. A mighty fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tiber in the spring of the year 455. The barbarians landed at Ostia without opposition and marched on to the city. Outside the Porta Portuensis they were met, not by an army in battle array, but by the venerable Pontiff Leo at the head of his clergy. But the Vandal was less tractable than the Hun; and all that could be gained was a promise that no blood should be shed, and no buildings burnt. For fourteen days and nights the pillage raged. The opportune occurrence of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29th) put a stop to the fury. The three days' sack by the Goths had deprived the city of many of its treasures; but the work of robbery was now carried out with a thoroughness which spared nothing but the contents of the three great basilicas. The booty, including gilt bronze from the roof of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the sacred vessels of the Jewish Temple, together with many thousand captives, was placed on board ship and carried off to Africa. Rome never recovered from this second disaster. The memory of it is enshrined in all the languages of the West; it is not the Goth or the Hun, but the Vandal who has given his name to wanton destruction.\* For twenty years more the Western Empire continued its precarious existence, until its final extinction by Odoacer in 476.†

While we have been tracing the successive stages by which the Western Empire came to an end, we cannot have

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\* We must be on our guard, however, against the popular notion that the Vandals destroyed the ancient buildings. Gregorovius (*History of Rome*, I., p. 217). Lanciani (*Ancient Rome*, p. 276), and Father Grisar are all at one on this point. More mischief was done in the sixteenth century by the Romans themselves than by all the barbarians of earlier ages.—Gibbon, chap. lxxi.

† Mr. Bryce observes: "Odoacer ruled for fourteen years as nominal Vicar of the Eastern Emperor. There was thus legally no extinction of the Western Empire at all, but only a re-union of East and West. . . . To those who lived at that time, this year (476 A.D.) was no such epoch as it has since become, nor was any impression made on men's minds commensurate with the real significance of the event; for though it did not destroy the Empire in idea, nor wholly even in fact, its consequences were from the first great. It hastened the development of Latin as opposed to Greek and Oriental forms of Christianity: it emancipated the Popes: it gave a new character to the projects and government of the Teutonic rulers of the West." (*The Holy Roman Empire*, ch. III.)

failed to note the rise of another power and the investment of the ancient capital with a fresh character. As the influence of the Roman Emperors waned, so did the authority of the Bishops of Rome become prominent ; and as the temporal dominions of the city shrunk, so did her spiritual territory grow more extensive. It is one of the most serious blots in Gregorovius' great work that he has refused to recognize this plain historical fact. "Although the Roman Bishop," he says, "had already become, in virtue of his office, a person of considerable importance, he was, as yet, merely a priest, the nominee and submissive subject of the emperor. The distinction between Church and Empire, between spiritual and temporal power, was so far unknown." And again: "These Roman priests, whose actions are hidden in the obscurity of legend until late in the fourth century, lived and worked unostentatiously under the shadow of the Empire ; and even until the time of Leo I., in the fifth century, the chair of Peter had not been occupied by a single bishop of historical importance. . . . The followers of Peter were at pains to win for the episcopal chair on which they sat in the Vatican, the pre-eminence due to its apostolic origin and supremacy for their church over all the churches of Christendom" (pp. 166, 177, 179). On the other hand, there have been Catholic writers, theologians rather than historians, who have endeavoured to prove that the same centralization of ecclesiastical authority was in full working order in the fourth and fifth centuries, as it is in the Church of to-day. Both of these extreme views are opposed to historical truth. To call a Sylvester, a Julius, a Damasus, or even a Liberius, "a mere priest, the nominee and submissive subject of the Emperor," "a bishop of no historical importance," is just as false as to assert that Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine asked for and obtained their faculties from Rome. Here, as in so many other questions of doctrine, we must have recourse to the theory of development. "It is a less difficulty," says Cardinal Newman, "that the Papal supremacy was not formally acknowledged in the second century, than that there was no formal acknowledgment on the part of the Church

of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity till the fourth."\* We could not expect in the early ages, while the memory of the teaching of the Apostles (each of whom was an infallible authority) was still fresh, that recourse to Rome would be necessary: and, moreover, such recourse would in times of persecution be dangerous, if not impossible. Hence the condemnation of Arius was produced by a general council rather than by a decision from Rome. But even at the council the influence of Rome was prominent. And as the shadow of persecution receded further, so did the monarchical character of the Church stand out more clearly.

It does not come within our present scope to describe the action of the Popes in the prolonged Arian controversy.† We should rather have to speak of the Pelagian, Nestorian, and Monophysite heresies.‡ But the whole question of the relations between the Popes and the African Church and the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon has been discussed in this REVIEW by Dr. Rivington, and in the *Church Quarterly* by Dr. Bright. Both writers subsequently published their articles in book form. While not necessarily identifying myself with all of Dr. Rivington's opinions, I would call attention to the marked contrast between his calm dignified presentment of his case, and the almost savage methods of his opponent. One hardly expects to find a Regius Professor of History descending to the device of poisoning the wells.§ Since the lamented death of these two disputants the controversy has been continued much more ably on both sides, I venture to think, by Father John Chapman, O.S.B., and Father Puller. In their hands it may safely

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\* *Development*, p. 151, sixth edition. "Le centre d'une future orthodoxie catholique était évidemment là (à Rome). Sous Antonin (138-161) le germe de la papauté existe bien caractérisé." (Renan, *Rome et le Christianisme*, p. 153.) "L'esprit qui, en 1870, fera proclamer l'infailibilité du pape, se reconnaît dès la fin du IIe. siècle, à des signes déjà reconnaissables." (*Ibid* p. 172.)

† Father Grisar devotes pp. 240-286 to the early history of papal authority. The cultured Pope Damasus (A.D. 366-384) naturally comes in for special attention.

‡ Grisar, pp. 287-316.

§ *The Roman See in the Early Church*, pp. 211, 212.

be left for the present. Here it will be sufficient to remark that no fair-minded student can fail to note that the Roman See played a pre-eminent part in all those controversies, and that this pre-eminence was quite independent of the personal ability and merit of its occupants. Alexandria and Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem, recognize the superiority of Rome ; Augustine, the greatest of the Fathers, appeals to Innocent ; Cyril and Nestorius to Celestine ; and it is Leo who instructs the Fathers of Chalcedon. Again, the supreme dignity of the Roman Pontiffs was not due to the fact that their See was the capital of the Empire, but rather to the fact that it was "the Apostolic See," "the See of Peter." Thus the Councils of Carthage and Milevis (416) wrote to Innocent begging that the authority of the Apostolic See might be given to their decrees ; the latter council (at which St. Augustine was present) adding that the heretics would be more ready to yield to his (Innocent's) authority which was "derived from the authority of Holy Scripture." In his reply the Pope praises the Fathers of Carthage for being "mindful of the rule of the Church," "for referring the matter to [his] judgment," "knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, from which the episcopate itself and the whole authority of this title hath proceeded." And St. Augustine writes : "Innocent has replied to us in a manner worthy of the Apostolic See." [Ep. 186.] He tells his faithful flock assembled in the basilica at Hippo : "The decrees of two councils on this matter have been sent to the Apostolic See ; thence have come back rescripts ; the affair is over. Would that the error would now at last come to an end." Pope Zosimus again : "*Canonical antiquity, by universal consent, willed that so great a power should belong to that Apostle (Peter), a power also derived from the actual promise of Christ, our God, that it should be his to loose what was bound, and to bind what was loosed ; an equal state of power being bestowed upon those who by his will should be found worthy to inherit his See, for he has both charge of all the churches, and especially of this wherein he sate. . . . You are not ignorant that we rule over his place, and are in*

possession also of his name."\* "It is *matter of doubt to none*," said Philip, the papal legate at the Council of Ephesus; "rather it is a *thing known to all ages* that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, the foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour and Redeemer of mankind. And to him was given authority to bind and loose sins, who even till this present, and always, both lives and judges in his successors. Our holy and most blessed Pope Celestine, the Bishop, the canonical successor (κατὰ τάξιν ὁ διαδόχος) and vicegerent of this Peter, has sent us as representatives of his person." "Anathema to him that believeth not that Peter hath so spoken by Leo" (Council of Chalcedon, Hardouin, tom. ii., p. 306). Here we do not find any appeal to the imperial character of the city as the foundation of papal authority; rather the city has obtained greater glory and wider rule by being the chosen see of the Fisherman of Galilee.† Yet Gregorovius confidently asserts that "Leo I. established the supremacy of the apostolic chair in Rome, and his efforts found ready supporters in a bigoted woman, Placidia, and a feeble-minded emperor, her son, Valentinian." This supremacy "by his means was established as a doctrine and confirmed by imperial edict." No doubt the papal supremacy was conspicuous in Leo's pontificate: no doubt Valentinian recognized this supremacy: but both the pope and the emperor expressly appeal to Christian antiquity.‡

Though Fr. Grisar gives an excellent *resumé* of the historical arguments for the primacy of the Holy See, he is more at home when dealing with the archæological memorials of the great events in the history of papal Rome. The two controversies in which the popes played

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\* Ep. XI. *Ad Afros*.

† I am, of course, aware of the 28th canon of Chalcedon.

‡ See *Analecta Romana*, l. p. 318 and 320 in VII.; Valentinian's edict runs thus: "Hoc perenni sanctione censemus ne quid tam episcopis gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum contra *consuetudinem veterem* liceat sine viri venerabilis urbis æternæ auctoritate tentare." (Ep. 11, inter *Epp. Leonis*, Ed. Migne, p. 636.)



so prominent a part—the Pelagian heresy and the heresies concerning the Person and Natures of Christ—have left their traces in many buildings and inscriptions. The famous baptistery connected with the basilica of St. John Lateran had been begun in the time of Constantine, and is erroneously stated to have been the place of his baptism; but it owes its completion and much of its present splendour to the labours of Sixtus III., the successor of Celestine and predecessor of Leo. It is a monument of the triumph of the doctrine of Grace, Original Sin, and Regeneration. The inscription set up by Sixtus is a veritable sermon in stone, and displays no small skill in adapting classical expressions for the exposition of dogmatic truths:

GENS SACRANDA POLIS HIC SEMINE NASCITUR ALMO  
 QUAM FECUNDATIS SPIRITUS EDIT AQUIS  
 MERGERE PECCATOR SACRO PURGANDE FLUENTO  
 QUEM VETEREM ACCIPIET PROFERET UNDA NOVUM  
 NULLA RENASCENTUM EST DISTANTIA QUOS FACIT UNUM  
 UNUS FONS UNUS SPIRITUS UNA FIDES  
 VIRGINEO FETU GENITRIX ECCLESIA NATOS  
 QUOS SPIRANTE DEO CONCIPIT AMNE PARIT  
 INSONS ESSE VOLENS ISTO MUNDARE LAVACRO  
 SEU PATRIO PREMERIS CRIMINE SEU PROPRIO  
 FONS HIC EST VITÆ QUI TOTUM DILUIT ORBEM  
 SUMENS DE CHRISTI VULNERE PRINCIPIUM  
 CÆLORUM REGNUM SPERATE HOC FONTE RENATI  
 NON RECIPIT FELIX VITA SEMEL GENITOS  
 NEC NUMERUS QUEMQUAM SCELERUM NEC FORMA SUORUM  
 TERREAT HOC NATUS FLUMINE SANCTUS ERIT.

In the Christological disputes the dogmatic term Θεοτόκος (*Dei Genitrix*, *Deipara*) became a test of the true faith, just as the term ὁμοούσιος had been in the contest with Arianism. It is no wonder that after the divine maternity of the Blessed Virgin had been defined by the Council of Ephesus, she should have been the object of special veneration.\* Long before this time indeed, according to Fr. Grisar, she had a church dedicated in her honour near the ancient temple of Vesta in the Forum. He is strongly of

\* According to Gregorovius, Nestorius' "offence had consisted in denying to the mother of the Founder of the Christian religion the monstrous title of 'The Mother of God!'" (p. 184.)

opinion, especially since the discoveries brought to light by the demolition of the church of S. Maria Liberatrice, that the newly-unearthed S. Maria Antiqua dates back to the pontificate of Silvester (314-335). It is rash to disagree with so eminent an authority; but after carefully reading his arguments in his history, and in his *Analecta Romana*, and also in his latest contribution to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (see the *Tablet*, Jan. 26, 1901), I confess that this early date seems to me doubtful. He has certainly established his contention that the title was transferred to the church now known as S. Francesca Romana, and he has clearly explained the meaning of the title of the church S. Maria Liberatrice, afterwards erected near the site of the old church.\* Nevertheless, the fact that the earliest mention of S. Maria Antiqua occurs in a catalogue of Roman churches made about the middle of the seventh century, is hard to get over.†

It is, however, the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, which owes so much to the decree of Ephesus, and the devotion of Sixtus III. Originally known as the *Basilica Liberii*, it had previously no reference to the Blessed Virgin. This statement may sound strange to those who are familiar with the Breviary lessons for August 5th, the feast of "Our Lady of Snows;" but the beautiful legend of the piety of John and his wife cannot stand in the light of modern criticism.‡ The day of the month, indeed, is correct, for it was on that day that Sixtus for the first

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\* "The wonderful stories connected with this church, about St. Silvester and his contest with the dragon . . . can now be much better understood owing to the recent excavations. The steps which St. Silvester came down are the steps of the Palatine which then fell into ruin. The abode of the dragon was the crypt of the old church; the water which later on gave a name to the small church of St. Silvester in *Lacu* is the now discovered *lacus Juturnæ*. The name of S. Maria de *Inferno*, which was given in the Middle Ages to the last-named, or to some other church built on the ruins, also becomes more intelligible. From this came the church, now pulled down, S. Maria Liberatrice or *Libera nos a panis inferni*." (*Tablet* l.c.)

† See Mr. G. Rushworth's interesting account of this church in the *Guardian*, June 19th, 1901.

‡ Grisar, *Hist. I.*, p. 153; *Analecta Romana*, I. 585. The commission appointed by Benedict XIV., in 1741, for the reformation of the Breviary, recommended that these lessons should be struck out, and that the ancient title of the Feast *Dedicatio S. Mariæ* should be restored. (Batiffol, *Hist. du Bréviaire Romain*, p. 287.)

time dedicated the basilica to the Mother of God.\* The magnificent mosaics illustrating scenes in Our Lord's childhood—the Annunciation; Presentation in the Temple; the Flight into Egypt; the Wise Men before Herod; the Wise Men before Our Lord; the Massacre of the Innocents—were erected by him to celebrate the triumph of the faith at the Council of Ephesus. And on the inside of the great doorway he placed a mosaic of the Θεοτόκος surrounded by martyrs, with the inscription :

VIRGO MARIA TIBI XYSTUS NOVA TECTA DICAVI  
DIGNA SALUTIFERO MUNERA VENTRE TUO  
TU GENITRIX IGNARA VIRI TE DENIQUE FÆTA  
VISCERIBUS SALVIS EDITA NOSTRA SALUS.

The omission of a representation of the birth of Christ is explained by Fr. Grisar on the supposition that there was a chapel in honour of the Holy Manger (*præsepe*), which would render any additional mosaic unnecessary. He does not, however, contend that the entire church was at this time called S. Maria *ad Præsepe*.† It still forms, since the destruction of old St. Paul's outside the walls, the grandest example of the ancient basilica.‡ Fr. Grisar treats at some length of the development of this form from the arrangement of the Roman private houses, in which religious worship was secretly carried on in the days of persecution.§ The rival form of church—circular or oval, copied from the Pantheon—was used more for baptisteries and mortuary-churches, though in the East it became the prevailing type. The baptistery at St. John Lateran, the mausoleum of Constantine's family at S. Agnese, and the Church of S. Stefano Rotondo, are examples. Long afterwards the two types were combined in the domed cruciform churches, such as the Cathedral at Florence and St. Peter's at Rome.||

\* "Hic (Liberius) fecit basilicam nomini suo juxta macellum Libiæ" (*Lib. Pont. Liberius*, n. 52). "Hic (Xystus) fecit basilicam sanctæ Mariæ, quæ ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur" (*Ibid.*, *Xystus* III., n. 63).

† *Anal. Rom.* I., p. 582.

‡ Much as we may admire its two magnificent chapels—the Sixtine and the Pauline—we cannot but regret that they interfere with the primitive design.

§ Grisar I., p. 338; see also Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 114.

|| An early example of this combination is its church over the tomb of the Empress Gallia Placidia at Ravenna. Illustrations of it are given by Grisar, p. 381.

The early Christian churches, in contrast to the Pagan temples, had all their glory within. The walls were decorated with pictures representing scenes and types in the Old and New Testaments. The apse was the focus of special splendour. Here the triumph of Christ was depicted; and not unfrequently the Prince of the Apostles, his Vicar, was also represented. The frescoes have for the most part perished; but happily the art of painting in stones (mosaic-work) has preserved for us many of the treasures of the fourth and fifth centuries. Grand examples are those in S. Maria Maggiore, already spoken of, and the mosaic of the apse at St. Paul's, which escaped destruction in the great fire of 1823. Statues were not common, though there are some which have come down to us, notably that of the Good Shepherd, now in the Lateran Museum. This belongs to the beginning of the third century. The skill of the sculptor now found greater scope in the reliefs on the stone sarcophagi in which the Christians, like the Pagans, were buried. All these different forms of art are minutely described and copiously illustrated on pp. 336-446 of Fr. Grisar's History; and the list appropriately ends with archæological memorials of the Church and the primacy of the Popes.

But we must pause, though we have dealt with only one half of Fr. Grisar's volume. What stirring scenes he has brought before us! What vast changes we have contemplated! Paganism overthrown, Rome plundered, the Empire fallen, the barbarian triumphant. Well might men have thought that the whole world was coming to an end. But the grand idea survived of another empire, embracing all nations and tribes, and peoples and tongues—an empire incorporating the old unity, organization, and law, an empire with its capital still in Rome, the Eternal City—an empire which should last for ever.

His ego nec metus rerum nec tempora pono :  
Imperium sine fine dedi.

Amidst effeminate emperors and trembling legions and crumbling walls, there was one truly imperial character, animated with the old Roman spirit. Leo the Great could

not only confront Attila and Genseric at the head of their hosts, but could also rouse the degenerate Romans to a sense of the sublime destiny of their city. "O Rome," he says, "those chief Apostles (Peter and Paul) are the men through whom the Gospel of Christ shone upon thee. Thou that wast the teacher of error art become the disciple of truth. These are the fathers and true pastors who have founded thee for a heavenly kingdom, much more auspicious than they by whom the first foundations of thy walls were laid—of whom the one who gave thee thy name polluted thee with his brother's blood. These are they who have raised thee to this height of glory—to be a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal city; that being made the capital of the world by becoming the See of Peter, thou mightest rule more widely by divine religion than by earthly empire. Crowned with many victories, thou hast extended thy imperial rule by land and sea, yet the toil of war has subdued less to thee than Christian peace has brought under thy sway."\*

T. B. SCANNELL.

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\* *Serm. lxxxii.*

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## ART. V.—RELICS OF THE ENGLISH MARTYRS.

**F**OR some years I have been trying to chronicle and describe, in as complete a manner as possible, the scattered relics of our glorious martyrs which have been preserved by the faithful, in remembrance of a period of persecution (1535-1681) almost unparalleled for length and for ferocity.

Though still incomplete, my collections have now swelled to a large folio MS. volume of nearly three hundred pages, and I think it may not be without interest to Catholics if I give some brief account of them here. The list would indeed have been far longer and more important were it not for the miserable ravages of the French Revolution. In this sad period the sacred relics which had often been snatched at the risk of life from the persecutors, or bought perhaps by pious Catholics from a venal hangman at the very foot of the gibbet, or distributed by the martyrs themselves on the eve of their agony, were torn from the religious houses and colleges on the Continent where they had long been preserved, and were scattered, lost, or destroyed.

Thus, of the many holy relics preserved till then at the English College of Douay, the *alma mater* of the majority of our martyrs, nothing, or scarcely anything, remains to us. The body of the Venerable John Southworth, in its leaden coffin, still lies hidden, no doubt, somewhere in the grounds of the College, which is now transformed into barracks. It used to rest under the altar of St. Augustine of Canterbury, in the College church, and was buried for safety at the outbreak of the Revolution. Strange that while the hidden plate was

afterwards, at least in part, dug up and recovered, we find no more trace of the martyr's relics.\*

At the adjoining English Benedictine Monastery nothing now remains of those sacred treasures once venerated there; the quarters of Dom John Roberts, O.S.B., and of his companion in martyrdom, the Rev. Thomas Somers, which Dom Augustine Bradshaw tried to get leave to place upon the altar on high feast days. Gone, too, is the head of that glorious martyr, Dom Mark Barkworth, which Arnold Raissius beheld and venerated there, wrapped in silk and gold. It is true that some time ago a box containing bones was found beneath the altar in the College chapel, but though they were no doubt holy relics, there was no mark or inscription wherewith to identify them.

Though the Jesuits have still preserved portions of their treasures, they are as nothing compared with those which were once preserved at their Colleges of St. Omer, Liège, Watten, Valladolid and Rome. There may yet, indeed, be bodies or relics of the English martyrs hidden away in Spain, but, even there, many have been lost owing to the Revolution and the suppression of the religious houses, as is, for instance, the arm of the Venerable John Roberts, O.S.B., once preserved at his own monastery of San Martin, Compostella, and which the late lamented prelate, Don Rudesindo Salvado, Abbot *nullius* of New Nursia, himself the last survivor of that ancient house, distinctly remembered.

We must, however, be thankful for what still remains to us, and the more rare are the treasures, the more precious

\* At Downside is a piece of tape in a paper bearing the following inscription:—"The enclosed is part of some tape which I, Richard Southworth, found tied round the leaden coffin in which is enclosed the body of the Rev. John Southworth, who suffered death for his priestly character under Oliver Cromwell, June 28th, in the year of our Lord 1654. This I brought with me to England in the year 1786 when I first came over on the mission. I took it from the coffin above-mentioned, which at that time lay under St. Augustine's Altar at Doway College, but was afterwards, during the trouble in France, removed and buried deep in a private place within the precincts or premises of the said College. It still remains there.

"Brockhampton, June 22nd, 1816.

"RICHD. SOUTHWORTH."

Endorsed outside—

"Taken from under St. Augustine's Altar at Doway College in 1786."



have they become. Arnold Raissius, in his *Hierogazophylacium Belgicum*, has left us a catalogue of the principal relics preserved in Belgium before the Revolution, which makes us conscious of many of our losses. But there were very many which he does not mention, some of which are still happily preserved.

The Acts of the Martyrs constantly speak of the efforts made by the faithful to obtain their relics. Here, as in many another trait, these acts seem to take us back to the times of the primitive Church. Again we see a Lucina or a Praxedes gathering up the torn members of the martyrs of Christ and preserving them for the veneration of the faithful. The touching story of the rescue of the bodies of Dom Maurus Scott, O.S.B., and his companion, made from under a heap of festering corpses, by a band of devoted Spanish Catholics, is well known; and the filial devotion of Margaret Roper, who rescued the head of Blessed Thomas More from its spike on London Bridge, was rivalled by the piety of Donna Luisa da Carvajal, that noble Spanish lady who devoted her life to minister to the martyrs of Christ. We read how she had their sacred relics rescued at dead of night, and when they were brought to her house, how she went with her companions in devout procession to receive them. Twelve of them, wearing white veils and carrying lighted tapers in their hands, would stand at the entrance of the house, and after venerating the holy treasure, would conduct the brave bearers through the passages, strewn with sweet-smelling flowers and decked with green branches, to the door of the oratory. Tenderly, and with mingled feelings of joy and sorrow, would they lay them there, while all night long prayerful vigil was kept around those glorious trophies. Luisa herself next day would wrap them in winding-sheets and embalm them in spices, and there they would remain in safety until it was possible to send them over to the Continent.

The Spanish Ambassadors themselves frequently showed the greatest zeal in collecting these sacred treasures. There are still venerated at Gondomar the relics of Venerable Thomas Maxfield (Tyburn, July 1st, 1616)

and Venerable John Almond (Tyburn, December 5th, 1612), priests, which were obtained for the Duke of that name, then Ambassador in England, by his son, Don Antonio Surmiento, who was himself present at the martyrdoms. A still more ardent client of the martyrs was another Ambassador, the Count Egmont (afterwards Duke of Gueldres), whose long list of relics obtained during his sojourn in England (1640-1645) still exists in the Archives at Lille, and was published by the late Mr. Richard Simpson in the *Rambler*.\* It is a truly ghastly list, and throws a vivid light on the sufferings of our martyrs. While the Duke was in England, fifteen martyrs suffered, and of these, eleven in London: and of each of the latter he obtained important relics. Challoner's account of how the Duke's servant obtained the heart of V. William Ward (Tyburn, July 26th, 1641) will doubtless be remembered by the reader.† It is quite an exciting story.

Unfortunately, I know nothing of the fate of these relics which the Duke of Gueldres intended "to shut up in his treasury." There is, however, at Downside a large piece of coarse sacking, thickly clotted with the blood of V. Alban Roe, O.S.B., which, it has been suggested, may possibly form part of "the apron of the torturer," which was among the relics of this martyr secured by the Duke, as it is of precisely the material which one would expect such a garment to be made of.

The Duke's catalogue is, however, a very fair specimen of the kind of relics which are still preserved. They mostly consist of pieces of flesh or bone, linen dipped in blood (the most common of all), and pieces of straw also stained with blood. In the Acts of the martyrs we constantly find the Catholics dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood of the sufferers. Thus a contemporary ballad, describing the martyrdom of the Venerable John Thulis:—

A hundred handkerchiefs  
With his sweet blood was dight,  
As relics for to wear  
For this said blessed wight.

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\* New Series, Vol. VIII. (1857), p. 114.

† Vol. II., p. 171-3 (Richardson's edition, 1843).

Again, in the Acts of the martyrs already referred to, V. Thomas Reynolds and V. Alban Roe, O.S.B., we read: "The Catholics piously vied with each other in taking away relics of the martyrs. Many dipped handkerchiefs in the dismembered bodies; others carefully collected the blood-stained straw from off the ground; while some snatched from the flames the intestines, which, as usual, had been thrown into the cauldron, and carried them home."\* It is interesting to note in connection with this passage that the relics of these martyrs preserved to this day at Lanherne, Colwich, and Erdington, consist precisely of pieces of linen soaked in blood, and little bits of straw.

At the martyrdom of the Venerable Edward Morgan, a more singular phenomenon was witnessed:—

"The officers calling for the people's handkerchiefs and gloves to wet in the blood, which they did, and delivered them again to their owners, and one got almost his whole heart out of the fire."†

This was very different from the scenes at earlier martyrdoms, where every effort was made to prevent the people getting hold of any relic, and where those who were detected trying to do so were frequently sent to prison. Here, again, we are reminded of the martyrs of the primitive Church, and the penal days in England recall the highest memories of those days of early fervour. Thus, at the martyrdom of Blessed Edmund Campion and his companions, a youth secured the martyr's thumb, which was handed over to the Society, and is probably the relic now treasured at the Gesù in Rome. It has of late years been divided, and half is in the hands of the Fathers of

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\* Pollen, "Acts of English Martyrs," p. 343.

† I believe this heart is still preserved at St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth. It is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length, nearly 2 in. in breadth at the widest, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. It is preserved in a curious cardboard box in the shape of a heart, just large enough to hold it. The box has intricate patterns on it made in very fine straw. The tradition handed down in the convent is that it is "the heart of one of the martyred missionary priests, which jumped out of the fire into which it had been thrown." In 1751 a lay-Sister named Sister Agnes Morgan was professed in the English Benedictine Convent at Pontoise, and at the dissolution of that Monastery joined the Teignmouth Community, then at Dunkirk. The relic is known to have come from Pontoise, and it is very likely that it belonged to Sister Morgan.

the English Province. But, as a rule, the precautions taken by the authorities to prevent these pious thefts were only too successful. It will be remembered how everything stained with the blood of Mary Queen of Scots was burned in the Great Hall of Fotheringay Castle immediately after the execution. In the same way the relics of many of our martyrs were destroyed. Their heads were usually put up on spikes on London Bridge, or on the gateways of the towns where they had been martyred; and when room was wanted for more, they were thrown into the river or other inaccessible places. Thus were treated the heads of the Carthusian Priors to make way for those of Blessed More and Fisher. The head of Father John Cornelius, S.J., was used as a football by the bigoted mob at Dorchester before it was placed over the town gate. That of Venerable James Bird, a lad of eighteen, was placed over the gateway of the City of Winchester, where his aged father, passing beneath one day, fancied he saw it bow reverently to him.

One of the most precious relics that still remains to us is the head of Blessed Cuthbert Mayne, the proto-martyr of the Seminary Priests, now preserved at Lanherne. The square hole made by the spike on which it was exposed on Launceston Castle can still be seen in the skull. A pathetic story in the York records tells how a female prisoner, Mrs. Hutton, and her children got into trouble for rescuing the heads of two martyrs which were exposed on the leads over the prison in which they were confined. The children were interrogated in vain, and stood their whippings with a fortitude above their years; while the heroic mother was thrust down into the frightful underground dungeons of the Lower Kidcote on Ouse-bridge, where in a few days she died. These heads may possibly be the same as those that were discovered in recent years walled up in the old church of the Vavasours at Hazlewood. Others, martyrs in the same cause, were Thomas Monday and Thurstan Hickman, who, as Wriothesley's Chronicle\* informs us, were arrested,

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\* Wriothesley (Camden Soc.) 1875, I., 184-5. Monday was parson of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane, and Hickman, a monk of the London Charter-

tried at the Guildhall, and condemned to death for endeavouring to carry over to France the arm of the Blessed John Houghton, Prior of the London Charterhouse, and other relics. This arm, as will be remembered, had been fixed up over the very gate of the Charterhouse—a hideous piece of barbarity intended to strike terror into the hearts of the heroic monks. One day it fell down at the feet of two of them, who hastily concealed it. Unhappily, they were unsuccessful in their attempt to send it over sea. Those entrusted with this precious relic suffered the death of traitors, and doubtless were welcomed to Heaven by the martyrs they had sought to honour on earth.\*

The main sources of the sacred treasures still preserved are, of course, the old religious communities which were founded on the Continent during the times of persecution, and settled in England at the French Revolution. Many of these communities succeeded in bringing over at least a portion of their treasures. Thus, at Taunton, Lanherne, Darlington, and Colwich are still preserved the relics once venerated at Nieupoort, Antwerp, Gravelines and Paris. At Downside are collected the treasures of Lambspring, while at Newton Abbot the Canonesses of St. Augustine still venerate the hair-shirt of Blessed Thomas More, which formed their chief treasure at Louvain. The English Canonesses who still inhabit their old convent at Bruges have some notable relics, while many other communities which succeeded in reaching England in safety, unhappily lost their treasures. A story told in the annals of St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich (then at Paris), shows how difficult it was to preserve them :—

“The man employed by the administrators to make the search said he knew how nuns did hide things, but he knew

house. John Foxe, parson of St. Mary Magdalene, in the ward of Queen-hithe, and one of the expelled Carthusians, had managed to escape over seas to the Louvain Charterhouse. Monday and Hickman had promised to follow him and bring him “the left arm” of B. John Houghton, “with other baggage that they called reliques,” but they were apprehended, tried at the Guildhall, and condemned to death as traitors. The fate of this relic, which has been much discussed, is thus made clear; and it would seem that yet another martyr should be added to the ranks of the London Carthusians.

\* Unhappily, not a single relic of the eighteen Carthusians has been preserved.

how to find them, for his wife had taught him. He therefore spent a long time in picking open pin-cushions, and at length found concealed in a very large one a great quantity of relics. He then seemed much diverted, and carefully took them out by parcells, and put them on the window-seat behind him, where a nun had placed herself, who kept her eye on what he did, and the other nuns were emptying down before him the contents of their drawers, work-bags, and other things, so that he was greatly bewildered with such variety, and as he was seated on the ground, he was almost, or half of him, covered with things. Thus they amused him until he forgot the treasures he had put in security, as he thought, and being carried away by another guard, he never more thought to look for what he had laid in the window, and the relics were saved by this means."

However, on the journey from the Convent to the Castle of Vincennes, they were very nearly lost again, as the bag containing them was let fall by a frightened nun under the wheels of the coach ; but again they were providentially recovered.\*

The poor Clares of Ayre possessed the head of Venerable John Wall, O.S.F. (Father Joachim of S. Anne, Worcester, August 22nd, 1679). They joined their sisters at Gravelines in 1834, but left two years later to join the Rouen Poor Clares at Scorton, near Darlington. Afraid, however, to encounter the English Custom House officers with the head in their possession, they buried it before leaving Gravelines in the cloister garden, near the kitchen,

\* They were, however, strangely enough, lost again in the convent itself, or, rather, lost to sight and memory. When the late Father Morris made his list of English Martyr relics he asked if the nuns of Colwich had any, and they replied they had not. However, later on it struck them to examine the contents of a bag, or rather cushion, of relics, which was in possession of the infirmarian, and used to be laid on the bed of a sick nun. In this they found sewn up, to their great joy, relics of no less than twenty-nine different martyrs, including one of Venerable Margaret Ward, which is supposed to be unique, and others almost equally scarce. These relics are all very small ; they have been neatly mounted in test-tubes and sealed by the Bishop of Birmingham. The nuns have generously given a portion of their treasures to Downside and Erdington Abbeys. They have, unhappily, lost the arm of Venerable Oliver Plunket, which they once possessed. They have, however, a large circular pewter dish which belonged to Blessed Richard Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, which bears in the centre his rebus—a whiting. This was given to them after their return to England by Lady Arundel of Wardour. The most remarkable of their English Martyr relics, besides that of Mrs. Ward, are those of Blessed Richard Thirkeld, Venerable William Harrington, Venerable Thomas Pickering, O.S.B., Venerable Richard Langhorne (which are all extremely rare), and some of Venerable Philip Powel, O.S.B., inscribed : "*Rd. fu Philipe ye m : his Reliques and cloth wet with his blood and tears.*"



enclosed in a wooden box. Repeated searches have been made for the head by the Ursuline nuns, who now possess the old Convent of the English Poor Clares at Gravelines, but hitherto without success.

Besides the relics preserved in religious communities, others have been handed down in old Catholic families from time immemorial. Thus, the Holden family has preserved the relics of the Chaigley martyr from generation to generation, though, during penal times, only the head of the family and his eldest son knew of the exact place of concealment.\* Only the other day the writer was brought a little collection of relics which had been treasured for centuries in an old Catholic family in Warwickshire. Very pathetic were these memorials of the penal days. They mostly consisted of little slips of linen deeply stained with blood, enclosed in papers which bore, in quaint seventeenth-century handwriting, such inscriptions as "bishop plunkits' bloud," "Mr. Johnson his blood." Besides the relics of our martyrs, were others of those not usually reckoned among them: for instance, Lord Derwentwater; and, most interesting of all, several of King James II. Again, at Mawdesley, in Lancashire, the Finch family keep the head of one of the martyrs of the Haydock family, probably that of William, a Cistercian monk of Whalley Abbey.

But it is time to describe the principal treasures which are still preserved amongst us; and we naturally begin with *reliquiæ insignes*. Of whole bodies there are very few, if indeed the mutilated quarters can be given that name. The most famous are those of Archbishop Plunket, at Downside Abbey, and that of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel. Archbishop Plunket's relics were taken by his friend and fellow-prisoner,

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\* The head of this martyr, who is supposed to have been a priest named Philip Holden, is now in possession of Mrs. Holden, of Wood Plumpton. He was killed at the altar, while saying Mass, at Chapel House, Chaigley, by a pursuivant. The date is unknown. There are several of these unknown martyrs, whose history will perhaps never be known to us, but whose lives and merits are known to God. Thus a relic at Stonyhurst, labelled "*Dom Martini pass Nordovici*," has long been a puzzle, as have relics of martyrs named Roper, Humber and Bond, which are preserved at Lanherne.



Abbot Maurus Corker, to his abbey at Lamspring in 1685, and were translated to Downside in 1883. The head of the venerable martyr is at the Siena Convent, Drogheda ; one of the arms at the Franciscan Convent, Taunton ; while the other, as we said, is lost. There are said to be some large bones of the martyr at Rome, but I have not been able to discover where they are kept. One large relic was left at Lamspring, and several smaller relics detached in 1883. I have before me a list of the bones now at Downside, made by a medical man at the time of the translation ; it includes most of the skeleton, with the exceptions already mentioned. The body of V. Philip Howard is entire, save for a bone which was taken out by the late Canon Tierney, and given to the mother of the present Duke, who preserved it in a gold reliquary. Each of the bones is separated and wrapped in silk.

There are bodies of other martyrs in Protestant hands, notably that of B. Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower (a thighbone of hers was lately shown as a curiosity to the King of Siam !); that of V. John Kemble, which lies under a stone, close to the old cross in Welsh Newton Churchyard, near Monmouth ; while those of others are known to rest in various churches or churchyards, but the spot has been unhappily lost sight of. Thus, the bodies of B. John Fisher and B. Thomas More may possibly yet be found under the belfry in St. Peter's ad Vincula, unless the tradition of their having been moved to Chelsea be correct. (If so, they are hopelessly lost, for the tomb in Chelsea Church is empty.) V. Charles Baker (or Lewis) sanctifies the churchyard at Usk ; B. Thomas Percy lies somewhere on the site of the demolished Church of St. Crux, at York ; V. Thomas Thwing in St. Mary's Church, Castlegate, York ; and several other York martyrs in various churches and cemeteries of the city ;\* while Venerable John Wall was buried in St. Oswald's Churchyard at Worcester. But it is very unlikely that their sacred relics will ever be

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\* *E.g.*, V. William Spencer and V. Robert Hardesty in Holy Trinity Church, Micklegate Street, or else in that of St. Martin close by. V. Thomas Watkinson in the churchyard of St. John's Church.

recovered. More happy are V. Thomas Maxfield and V. John Almond, who, as we said, rest at Gondomar in Spain, though considerable portions of their relics have been translated to Downside.

Next in importance come the heads of the martyrs. There are many of these preserved. That of B. Thomas More is, I believe, still safe in its niche in the Roper vault in St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. I have a drawing of it which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1837. The vault was accidentally broke open in 1835, and the head was found enclosed in a leaden box, somewhat in the shape of a beehive, open in the front, with an iron grating in front of it. Margaret Roper, whose filial devotion preserved this precious treasure, was, strangely enough, not buried in this vault, but at Chelsea; so that Tennyson's beautiful lines in his *Dream of Fair Women* are not justified by facts. I believe that since the restoration of the church access to the vault has been rendered impracticable, the organ having been placed over it, and the vault itself filled up with earth.

Among the heads of martyrs in Catholic hands, besides the skull of B. Cuthbert Mayne at Lanherne,\* there are those of V. Christopher Wharton (York, March 28th, 1600) at Downside, V. Oliver Plunket at Drogheda, and V. William Andleby at Bruges. That of Archbishop Plunket is noteworthy in that it emits a supernatural perfume which lasts for some minutes after the shrine is opened, and has been observed by many persons of the highest credit. The flesh and skin are still upon the face, the skin being of a dark brown colour. Part of the left cheek and a little of the upper lip are burnt quite black, no doubt from the fire into which it was thrown at the martyrdom. There is a little hair on the back of the head, and there is the mark of a deep cut across the top, as if an attempt had been made to split the skull. The

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\* It is the upper part of the skull. A large piece of the lower part (that under the right ear) is at Sutton Place near Guildford, in possession of the Salvin family. It was found in this beautiful old mansion of the Westons together with a large portion of the clavicle of St. William of York, a rib of V. Robert Sutton (Stafford, July 27th, 1587), and a vertebra of one of the Father Garnets.

coffin-plate of the martyr is also preserved in the convent.

The skull of Father Andleby came to the English Convent at Bruges in a curious manner. We give a copy of the paper preserved with it, as a good illustration of the vicissitudes which many of the relics have experienced :—

*"Ad majorem Dei gloriam"*—"I well remember that when Madame Vandenbrouek presented me the skull of the Rev. Wm. Andleby it was without the under jaw. She had taken from it a tooth, which she kept as a relic for herself and family. She brought the whole from St. Omer's at a time when the French Revolution was in the hight (*sic*) of its fury against the God of their fathers, religion, and everything that related to religious worship. It came to her by a young man who came to her house and had an eye on her daughter. He had been at the sacking of the English College at St. Omer, and brought away the venerable head, which he treated with the utmost scorn and indignity, placing it with dirty pigs' feet, guts of dead animals, and all kinds of filth, to prove by fact that all prejudices were done away, and that the new way of thinking cut off at once all restraint on the score of religion. Miss Vandenbrouek received the present, but took care to have no more to say to the gentleman. Mrs. Vandenbrouek brought the head to Bruges and presented it to Rev. Mother Anne Moore, rightly judging that the Community would be glad to receive the venerable head of an English martyr," etc.

"ANNE MOORE, *alias* Sister MARY CLARE,

"August 21st, 1834."

The name of the martyr has been written in ink on the skull in a seventeenth-century hand. Unhappily, this precaution has not been taken in other cases; there are, for instance, two martyrs' skulls preserved at St. Beuno's which cannot now be identified. One of them has a hole in the cranium made by the pike on which it was exposed; with them are the bones of a leg which were found wrapped up in a child's jacket, in which they were evidently hidden when rescued by some pious and daring Catholic from the gate or public place where they had been exposed. Father Morris found the skeleton of a mouse inside one of the skulls! It had apparently made a nest there, and when the skull was placed in a box, the mouse could not escape. These relics come from Holywell, and it is possible that

they may be those of V. Philip Evans, S.J. (Cardiff, July 22nd, 1679), and V. Charles Baker, S.J. (Usk, August 27th, 1679).

Even more interesting is the skull preserved at Wardley Hall, near Manchester, an old house once the seat of the Catholic family of Downe, but now belonging to Lord Ellesmere. This is kept in a niche in the wall of a staircase, and the lease of the house contains a clause by which the head has to remain in its singular position. It is said that it was once thrown into the moat, but that so many accidents, strange noises, and other troubles followed that the moat had to be drained and the head restored to its resting-place. The country tradition has it that it is the skull of a priest, a Father Ambrose, who was killed by one of the squires of the place. A local history of Eccles was recently responsible for the statement that it was the head of a priest killed during the reign of King William III. But I think there can be no doubt whatever that it is the head of V. Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B., who lived in this neighbourhood, was born at Barlow Hall, near Chorlton-cum-Hardy, and apprehended at Eccles close by (Lancaster, September 10th, 1641).

The hands of our martyrs still preserved are more numerous than the heads, and are most interesting relics. One of the most famous is that of V. Margaret Clitheroe, venerated at the Old Bar Convent at York—a most pathetic memorial of that valiant woman so justly known as the Pearl of York. It is in a beautiful state of preservation, though its vigilant guardians lament that since a joint of one finger was severed in order to give it to the late Mr. Charles Weld, the donor of the precious reliquary that now enshrines the hand, it has begun to show signs of decay. The contracted fingers speak most eloquently of the agony of the terrible *peine forte et dure* which Margaret underwent so bravely that Good Friday of 1586. Then there is the left hand of V. Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B., at Stanbrook; the right hand of V. Francis Ingolby (York, June 3rd, 1586) at Taunton; the right hand of V. Nicholas Postgate (York, August 7th, 1679) at St. Cuthbert's, Durham; and the left hand of the same martyr

at Ampleforth. At Hereford is the left hand of V. John Kemble (Hereford, August 22nd, 1679), which has been gorgeously enshrined at the expense of Mr. Monteith of Carstairs, on his recovery from a very serious illness, when the hand was applied to his lips by Bishop Hedley. Still more famous is the "Holy Hand" of V. Edmund Arrowsmith, S.J., preserved at Ashton-le-Willows, in Lancashire. The miracles wrought by this renowned relic are numerous and well-authenticated; and to this day the faithful bring their sick to be touched by it, and even linen that has enfolded it has been the cause of many cures.

I will now endeavour briefly to enumerate the principal places where English martyr relics are preserved. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster keeps in his private chapel some small relics of various martyrs, the most important of which is a bone, about six inches in length, "taken out of ye neck of Mr. Southworth, who suffered under Oliver Cromwell . . . by Mr. James Clark, chirurgeon, who embalmed the body." There is also some hair of V. Margaret Clitheroe and V. Anne Lyne (died, Tyburn, February 27th, 1601). At Lanherne, the old seat of the Arundels, where the light of the sanctuary has never been extinguished, the Carmelite nuns treasure, besides the skull of B. Cuthbert Mayne, ten remarkable portraits\* and relics of about thirty martyrs. At the Franciscan Convent, Taunton, are many very precious relics, including a rib and a leg-bone (tibia, 14 in. long) of V. Francis Bell, O.S.F. (Tyburn, December 11th, 1643), who was chaplain to this community when at Princenhoff, Bruges. An autograph letter of the same martyr, a tibia of V. John Baptist Bullaker, O.S.F. (12½ in. long), the linen corporal which he used at his last Mass, during which he was apprehended, and another dipped in his blood. They have also a tibia of V. Martin Woodcock, O.S.F. (Lancaster, August 7th, 1646), a vertebra of V. Joachim Wall, O.S.F.; the cord with which

\* The portraits are those of VV. Fathers Ward, Bell (O.S.F.), Bullaker (O.S.F.), Heath (O.S.F.), Duckett, Corby (S.J.), Wright (S.J.), Morse (S.J.), Holland (S.J.), and Green (or Brooke). There is a legend that they were all painted by a Mr. Gifford, a fellow-prisoner of the martyrs, in an almost miraculous manner. But the story, as told, will not fit in with the dates.

that seraphic martyr, V. Paul Heath, O.S.F., was hanged ; fingers of VV. John Roberts and Maurus Scott, O.S.B.; the jawbone of V. Thomas Whitehead (the Jesuit Provincial who suffered for the Oates plot) ; in all, twenty-nine important relics, including the left arm of Archbishop Plunket, given to them by Mrs. Mornington, of Sarnsfield, Worcestershire.

The English Canonesses at Bruges have a yet more precious relic than any of these—a vertebra of the neck of Blessed Thomas More. This is the only relic of his body in Catholic hands (except a tooth and small piece of bone at Stonyhurst), and it came to them through Father Henry More, S.J., one of the last survivors of the martyr's family. They have also a finger of B. Thomas Ford (died, Tyburn, May 28th, 1582), together with his portrait, which came through Sister Catherine Willis, who was professed at Bruges in 1742, and who was a connection of the family. They had been brought to Belgium by the martyr's brother, an exile for the faith. The relic consists of the last two joints of the little finger. It is white as wax, and set in a sort of small silver handle. This relic is credited with some remarkable cures.

The Canonesses at Newton Abbot possess one of the most historically interesting of all the relics—the hair shirt of B. Thomas More. The story of this relic is so well known that I need not repeat it here, save to remind my readers that it was sent by the blessed martyr, the day before he suffered, to Margaret Roper, from whom it passed to his adopted child, Margaret Gigs, who married Dr. John Clements, and whose daughter founded the Community of St. Monica's, Louvain, now at Newton Abbot. A sleeve of this precious relic was given to Mother Margaret Hallahan, and is now treasured at Stone. Small portions are at Downside ; St. Mary's, Cadogan Square ; St. Joseph's Church, Roehampton ; Ushaw, etc. This community also possesses two autograph letters of V. William Howard, Viscount Stafford, written to his daughter Ursula, who was one of the Canonesses of St. Monica's. They seem, unfortunately, to have lost Sir Thomas More's rosary, which was once in their possession.



At East Bergholt is part of the rope which hanged V. Joachim Wall, O.S.F., and two relics of V. Robert Southwell (Tyburn, February 21st, 1595), which are said to emit the beautiful odour which distinguishes this martyr's relics. Also a letter, I believe, of V. Francis Bell, O.S.F., describing his apprehension at Stevenage.

The Benedictines of Downside Abbey possess one of the grandest collections of English martyr relics. Besides those already mentioned, they have the mutilated quarters of V. John Lockwood, O.S.B. (a confrater), and V. Edmund Catherick (York, April 13th, 1642). These were rescued by Mary Poyntz, the faithful companion and successor of Mary Ward, and carried over to her convent at Augsburg. Here they remained, hidden beneath the altar in the infirmary, and almost forgotten, until they were obtained from the nuns by one of the monks of Downside, and joyfully translated to their splendid church. They have also part of a rib of V. Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B., and many small relics of other martyrs, besides a crucifix that once belonged to Abbot Feckenham, and afterwards to V. Philip Powell, O.S.B. (Tyburn, June 30th, 1646). One of their most interesting relics is that of the hair of V. Anne Lyne. This consists of "two beautiful little coils of fine hair which were found enclosed in separate papers, one of which had always been in possession of the community, while the other was brought from Lambspring. They were put together loosely in a glass tube by Dom Ethelbert Horne, O.S.B., and he afterwards found that the hairs had twined themselves together in the shape of 8, with a small band across the middle. A single grey hair had taken the form of L." This is the more extraordinary, as the hairs were extremely brittle, and broke at the slightest pressure.

At Clare Abbey, Darlington, is a finger of V. John Roberts. The skin is of the colour of parchment, and it is in almost perfect preservation. On the finger is a label with the inscription, in a seventeenth-century hand, "*Beati Joannis Mervenia digitus sacerdotis et martyris Ordinis Sti Benedicti in Anglia.*" There is also a bone of the same



martyr, and some other small relics. Another finger of Dom Roberts was given by the nuns to the writer.

At St. Mary's Convent, York, besides the hand of V. Margaret Clitheroe, there are about twenty different relics, including a piece of the rope (apparently only two strands) with which V. Nicholas Postgate was hanged; and some large pieces of blood-stained linen belonging to a martyr unknown. Most of these came from Oscott, and were given by Father Haigh, of Erdington, to the Convent. Others were given by Father Morris. It is strange that there are not more important relics at this famous old convent, which weathered the storm of persecution in the penal days.

At Oscott there are still several relics of V. Nicholas Postgate and V. Thomas Thwing, the most interesting of which is a piece of linen stuff lined with canvas, with a button-hole in one corner, and with the inscription, "*Mr. Posket's cape he woore 30 yeare.*" These relics belonged to a Mrs. Juliana Dorrington, a pious Catholic lady, who lived many years at Old Oscott, and died there in 1731.

At St. Cuthbert's, Old Elvett, Durham, besides the right hand of Father Postgate, there are two locks of his white hair (the holy old man was eighty-two years of age at his martyrdom), his entire lower jawbone, and one of the vertebræ of the spine. There is also the jawbone of V. Thomas Thwing (which still has four teeth on the right side and three on the left) and one of his vertebræ.

At Egton Bridge, near Grosmont, the scene of Father Postgate's labours, there are still preserved the silk bag in which he carried the Blessed Sacrament to the sick; the altar-stone which he used, and a relic of the true Cross, which is said to have belonged to him. At Dodding Green is a portable altar which he used to carry about with him, and his crucifix and candlesticks are at Scarborough. The York nuns have several crosses made of the ladder by which he used to mount to his hiding-place at Egton (the old cottage in which he lived is still pointed out); and at

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\* One relic here is remarkable; as it purports to be the blood of N. Wilkes, secular priest, who died in York Castle under sentence of death, 1642. I think there must be some mistake here.

St. Hilda's, Whitby, is his rosary. By an unusual favour, his mutilated body was given over to his friends for burial, and there are more relics of him than of almost any other martyr.

In the Catholic church at Monmouth are preserved the chalice, altar, missal and bookstand used for many years by V. John Kemble, another very aged martyr, at his residence at Pembridge Castle. The altar is made of two carved oak tables, or, rather, wide benches, one on the top of the other, so that, when not used for Mass, they could be separated and placed as benches on either side of the attic which formed the chapel. The altar-stone is fixed in an oaken case, and is of Bath-stone (oolite); it is now let into the upper table. The book-stand was very ingeniously made by the martyr himself out of one single board. It closes up very small, in order to facilitate its being hidden. The chalice was recovered by the Rev. Thomas Abbott, then priest of Monmouth, from a Protestant farmer's family, in the neighbourhood of the Castle, in whose possession it had remained since the sack of the Castle at the martyr's apprehension, and who used it as a drinking-cup at their harvest-feasts. It was repaired by Messrs. Hardman and re-consecrated by Bishop Browne, O.S.B., in 1839. There is also at Monmouth a fourteenth-century chasuble, embroidered with the Crucifixion and angels catching the Precious Blood in chalices. This has a remarkable history:—

“ It appears that during the fiercest strife of the penal times two priests, named Jones and Powell, took the “Cross Keys Inn” at Holywell; the one acting as landlord, the other as ostler. At this inn the faithful yeomen would pull up for the purpose of obtaining bodily refreshment (as their Calvinistic neighbours thought), but in reality to obtain refreshment for their souls, for on Sundays and other convenient times Holy Mass was said in that wayside inn. At length the two priests came to the conclusion that it was selfish for both to remain at Holywell when so many Catholics were struggling on in South Wales without the sacraments, and so Mr. Jones came to Monmouth, bringing this chasuble with him. The vestment, after his death, was cut up into small pieces and hidden away by someone who was afraid it might be found in his possession. Father Abbott found the fragments stowed away in a loft, and

had it restored and repaired. This splendid old vestment is priceless.”\*

At West Grinstead are some relics of V. Francis Bell, O.S.F., who seems to have ministered there as missionary priest. They were found under the altar. They consist of a part of his backbone, a bit of the leather of his sandals, and some of his hair-shirt. But the most interesting of all is an autograph letter written from Newgate. It ends : “ All that I aske of any is that St. Andrew begged of the people, ‘*ne impedirent passionem,*’ God’s holy will be done *in æternum.*” “ Your poor brother,

“ November 12th, 1643.

FRANCIS BELL.”†

At Husbands Bosworth Hall, the seat of Miss Fortescue-Turville, is preserved a very beautiful relic of the family martyr, B. Adrian Fortescue (beheaded, Tower Hill, July 9th, 1539). It consists of the Book of Hours constantly used by the martyr, and since his beatification it has been kept in a shrine in the church. On the front page Sir Adrian has written some beautiful maxims, a kind of rule of life, which he has signed at the end, “*Adryan ffortescue.*” Curiously enough, not far off, at Newnham Paddox, there is the Book of Hours of another martyr, B. Thomas More. This most precious little book was used by the Blessed martyr when imprisoned in the Tower, and it also has some autograph prayers written in the margin, which are of exquisite beauty and pathos. They begin thus :—

“ Give me Thy grace, good God,  
To sette the world at naught ;  
To sette my minde faste upon Thee and not to hange  
uppon the blaste of mennys mowthis.”

\* \* \* \* \*  
“ Of worldly substance, frendys, libertie, lyfe and all  
to sett the loss at right nowght for the wyning of Christ.  
To think my moste enemys mye beste frendys  
for the brethren of Joseph could never have done him so  
much goode with their love and favour, as they did hym  
with their malice and hatred.”

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\* *St. Peter's Chair*, October, 1893.

† Mr. Grissell, of Oxford, has a little MS. book entirely written by this martyr. It contains an account of his family and of his own life, and some coats of arms painted by his own hand. The last entry is the most interesting : “*Anno 1634 missus sum in Angliam ad convertendum animas ad fidem catholicam.*”

The third great layman among the Beati has also left a MS. book of prayer, but this seems to be entirely written in his own hand. I refer to the prayer-book of B. Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, a priceless volume, now in possession of Mr. George Browne, of Troutbeck, Kendal. This prayer-book is referred to by Sander in the *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*. As it has been recently described in the *Ushaw Magazine*, I need not do more than refer to it.

Another relic of B. Thomas More is his rosary-ring, in possession of the Trappes family. This consists of a hoop with a bezel engraved with the I H S, and ten knobs whereon to count the *Aves*. A somewhat similar ring, said to have belonged to B. Edmund Campion, is at Farm Street. That of B. Thomas More is said to have come through Mother Mary More (the last survivor of the family), who was Superior of the English Convent, Bruges.

At Hendred House, Berks, the seat of the Eyston family, is the drinking-cup of B. Thomas More, and the walking-staff of B. John Fisher, which he carried to the scaffold.

One of the most precious of all our relics is the old missionary altar, the property of the Burgess family, and now at Lancaster. At this venerable relic of the penal days V. Martin Woodcock, O.S.F., said his last Mass before his apprehension on the Feast of the Assumption, 1644. B. Edmund Campion and V. Edmund Arrowsmith, S.J., are also known to have said Mass on it, and no doubt other martyrs used it also. With it are still preserved the vestments, altar-stone, and other furniture used during centuries of persecution in out-of-the-way parts of Lancashire. A very full description, with a picture of the altar, recently appeared in the *Catholic Fireside*. It is pleasant to be able to add that the altar is still in use daily by a venerable priest, the Rev. Thomas Abbott, late of Monmouth.

Other very precious vestments used by martyrs are in the possession of Mr. Herbert, of Helmsley Hall, near York. They belonged to the Thwing family, of which the late Mrs. Herbert was a member, and must have been used by the two martyrs of that family—V. Edward

(Lancaster, July 26th, 1600) and V. Thomas Thwing (York, October 23rd, 1680). One of the chasubles is an exceedingly beautiful Gothic vestment, 51 in. long and 37 in. wide, made of crimson velvet pile, with a cross and pillar of green satin, embroidered on the back with the Assumption of Our Lady and Seraphs. The other is of woollen brocade, woven in crimson, green and white; evidently in order that it might be used for any of these colours. It is also Gothic in shape. The *palla* preserved with these vestments possesses a special interest, having still attached to it by small solid-headed pins the linen pall, as used by the martyrs. These vestments were lent to the convent at York, and exhibited at the Ransomers' pilgrimage there at Whitsuntide.

At Farm Street are a quantity of relics collected by the late Father Morris, but they are mostly quite small ones, as the larger ones he placed at Roehampton. Others are portions of larger ones at Stonyhurst and elsewhere. I therefore pass them over. The relics belonging to the Huddleston family, of Sawston Hall, near Cambridge, are also very small, but are exceedingly interesting, as some of them are very rare. They are chiefly of the martyrs of the time of the Oates plot. Two seem to be unique, those of V. John Grove and V. John Lloyd. There is also some straw with a very puzzling inscription, apparently in Portuguese, which is almost indecipherable. It apparently reads: "Da esteira em que forao martyrisados il noster geroues e noster? Lomda"—i.e., "From the straw on which were martyred our (?) and our (?) " (or, perhaps, "in London"). But almost every word has to be guessed at, and I have no idea what martyrs can be meant.

The spelling of the inscriptions attached to these relics is remarkable. Thus, Archbishop Plunket becomes "the holy B: plompin"; V. John Grove is "Mr. Growfe"; V. John Lloyd, "F. Flouid"; and straw is spelt "stray."

We now come to the great relics at Stonyhurst, which, indeed, in regard to their importance, ought almost to have had the first place. The relics of the *Beati* are contained in four mahogany boxes, lined with crimson velvet. The

inscriptions are in red ink in a very early hand. One of the most touching is the rope of B. Edmund Campion. It seems to be nearly twelve feet long. There are in the same case relics of BB. John Fisher, Thomas Ford, William Tilby, Ralph Sherwin (a knuckle bone), Luke Kirby (a phalanx of foot), and Edmund Campion (blood-stained linen). In another case is a most precious corporal, on which five martyrs said Mass when imprisoned in the Tower. Their names are embroidered in red silk on the linen (BB. Luke Kirby, Robert Johnson, Alexander Briant, S.J., John Shert, and Thomas Cottam, S.J.). But the most intrinsically precious, as well as the most interesting, are, of course, the famous More relics. As these have been described in Father Bridget's "*Life of B. Thomas More*" (Appendix), I need not do more than refer to them. They consist of the "*George*," a most splendid jewel of priceless value; two crucifixes (one of which contained a relic of St. Thomas the Apostle), the martyr's seal (as Sub-Treasurer of England), a cameo with the head of Our Lady, a crystal and silver reliquary containing one of the martyr's teeth and a piece of thick bone; and a shell (tiger cowrie) made into a pouncet-box. In another case are Sir Thomas's curiously-embroidered cap and his hat.

There is also a beautiful old reliquary, containing a thumb of V. Robert Sutton (Stafford, July 27th, 1587), which was given to F. John Gerard, S.J., by the martyr's brother, and by him enclosed in this reliquary, as he tells us in his autobiography. Besides this, there are some large bones of one of the Durham martyrs, an eye of V. Edward Oldcorne, S.J., and a very elaborate silver spoon, parcel gilt, in a curious case, which is said to have belonged to B. Richard Whiting, O.S.B., last Abbot of Glastonbury. This spoon is dated 1500. The handle terminates in a female bust growing from a vine-stock, doubled and twisted, and bearing leaves. It closes up, to fit into a case. When open, a ferule slips over the hinge and keeps the handle in position; on the front of this ferule is a human head. The case is made of parchment which has been moulded into its present shape while wet, and is covered with thin black skin, probably mole-



skin, the joint down the side being so delicate as to be hardly perceptible. The history of this relic is, unfortunately, at present forgotten, and it is not known how it came to Stonyhurst. Besides these great relics, there are quantities of small relics of various martyrs which it would be tedious to enumerate here.

In the sacristy of St. Joseph's Church, Roehampton, is a large case of relics, collected and arranged by Father John Morris, S.J. Besides the relics of B. Thomas More already mentioned, there are about thirty-eight other relics. There are, for instance, large bones of VV. John Lockwood, Edmund Catherick (from Augsburg), Robert Southwell, S.J., and of two Douay martyrs whose names are unknown. There are also pieces of linen dipped in the blood of VV. Thomas Thwing, William Plessington (Chester, July 19th, 1679), Joachim Wall, O.S.F., Thomas Garnet, S.J., John Almond, John Southworth, &c. Two of the most interesting are a bone of B. Edmund Campion, being half of the relic preserved at the Gesù (and which is, in all probability, the martyr's thumb), and a piece of the hat which he wore when paraded through the streets in mockery. On it was fastened a paper bearing the inscription, "Campion, the seditious Jesuit." There is also a large piece of the rope with which V. David Henry Lewis, S.J. (*alias* Charles Baker), was hung at Usk (August 27th, 1679), and a tooth of V. Thomas Whitehead, S.J. (from Taunton); also a piece of blood-stained linen in a paper bearing the inscription: "*The keeper of the prison said cirtarly he was a St. all that saw him die thought no less pay [pray] prize this.*" We do not know to what martyr this refers. There are also two relics of V. Richard White (Wrexham, October 17th, 1584), which are the only ones existing, as far as I know.

At Manresa House is preserved a copy of the Summa of St. Thomas Aquinas, which belonged to B. Edmund Campion, and contains many notes in his own hand. Another book that apparently once belonged to a Jesuit martyr, is a missal in possession of Mr. Berkeley, of Spetchley Park, which bears the curious inscription: "*Alexandro Brianto Alexander Farnesius.*" This cer-



tainly suggests the idea that the famous Duke of Parma gave the book to B. Alexander Briant, who may have come under his notice when a student at Douay. At the end of the books are some prayers written in the same hand.

At Erdington Abbey there are relics of about forty martyrs, the most important of which are a finger of V. John Roberts, O.S.B.; a bone, about three inches long, of V. Ambrose Barlow, O.S.B.; the *palla* used by V. Martin Woodcock, O.S.F., at his last Mass; and a large piece of the hat of B. Edmund Campion. This last relic is doubly interesting, as the hat in question belonged first to S. Francis Borgia, S.J., who gave it to B. Edmund when he was leaving Rome. It is now kept at the old Jesuit College (now the Episcopal Seminary) at Prague. It is made of black felt. There are also some large pieces of linen soaked in the blood of V. David Lewis, S.J., V. Oliver Plunket, V. Henry Heath, and V. Joachim Wall. The *palla* already referred to is covered on the upper side with light blue diapered silk. In the centre is a broad Greek cross of light gold-coloured silk, which is outlined with a twisted silk lace of a brighter yellow. The same lace is used to border the *palla*.

Mgr. Gradwell, of Cloughton-on-the-Brock, has two interesting relics of V. Thomas Whitaker, who once served this district. The one is a plain oak desk in which the martyr stored his vestments and other things necessary for holy Mass; and the other a box, about seven inches square, in which he used to keep the Blessed Sacrament. This is elaborately carved on the panels. These relics came through the Midgeall family, with whom the martyr lived.

This account of our martyrs' relics may come to a close here. It is necessarily very brief and incomplete, but I think most of the more important relics have been mentioned.\* If this account of them elicits information as to

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\* I find that I have notes of relics of about 107 different martyrs, besides several anonymous relics. Of the following I only know of one relic:— B. Thomas Beche, Abbot of Colchester (pectoral cross belonging to Lord Clifford); V. Roger Cadwallador (bone, Stonyhurst), V. John Carey (finger,

further treasures as yet unknown to me, I shall be amply repaid for the trouble of writing it. I must acknowledge my obligations to Father John Pollen, S.J., who has kindly placed at my disposal the papers of the late Father Morris, and to many other friends who have most kindly assisted me in my inquiries.

DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B.

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Bruges), V. Roger Filcock, S.J. (Stonyhurst), V. Matthew Flathers (Bruges), V. John Grove (Sawston), B. Everard Hanse (blood, Westminster), V. William Harrington (Colwich), Lawrence Hill (Colwich), V. Francis Ingolby (hand, Taunton), B. Robert Johnson and B. John Shert (corporal, Stonyhurst), V. Richard Langhorne (Colwich, part now at Downside), V. John Lloyd, S.J. (Sawston), V. Francis Page, S.J. (Stonyhurst), B. Thomas Percy (Book of Hours, Troutbeck, Kendal), V. John Robinson (Stonyhurst), B. Richard Thirkeld (Colwich), V. Margaret Ward (Colwich), V. Richard White (Roehampton), (?) Wilks, (?) Confessor Priest (York). There are none at all of most of Henry VIII.'s victims.

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## ART. VI.—A CENTURY OF CATHOLIC LITERATURE.—IV.

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8. HUNGARIAN CATHOLIC LITERATURE.—9. POLISH AND  
BOHEMIAN LITERATURE.—10. ARMENIAN LITERA-  
TURE.—11. IRISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.—  
CONCLUSION.

IN few nations of Europe has the nineteenth century been more fruitful in great deeds, and stirring events, and momentous changes, than in the ancient kingdom of Hungary. And in the long roll of its national annals there are but few periods whose pages are darker with tragedy, or brighter with triumph. Much of this, no doubt, was due to the influence of a wider movement that was felt, in different degrees, in all the nations of Europe. For, account for it as we may, the century was undoubtedly an age of awakening and new life, an age of revolution in politics, of revival in religion, of new schools in philosophy, and art and letters. After a period of comparative stagnation, the minds of men were stirred with aspirations after new ideals, which were sought with strenuous effort and passionate longing. With some, the object in view was freedom from foreign foes or domestic oppression; with others, the restoration of a glorious past, or the achievement of new progress in the future. Hence came, under many names and divers changing aspects, like the waves of some wide multitudinous sea, the philosophic march of mind, the evolution of science, the democratic upheaval in politics, the Romantic Movement, and the Catholic Revival. Along with these various forces at work in the life of the age, there is another which has sometimes exerted a predominant influence, the sentiment of nationality or patriotism. Some may incline to regard

this as a mere phase in the political movement of the time ; and its power in other fields is too often forgotten. But in truth its influence is by no means confined to any one region. *Omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est.* And it is no wonder that the national sentiment readily enters into all the various movements in thought, or letters, or religion, now lending them fresh strength and impetus, now shaping or deflecting their course, or serving as a centre and focus of their scattered forces. Thus, in literature, the romantic writers, though they were sometimes inspired by some foreign example, had a deep strain of patriotism. Heine has finely described the new-born interest in the middle ages as a feeling of *Heimweh* or yearning for home. And in truth this is something more than a mere analogy. For in each case the past, to which men turned, was the past of their own people. The classics of this new renaissance were of native growth, and each land had its own. Scott and Percy saved our ballad literature, while Arnim and Brentano gathered up the old songs of Germany.

Nor was it otherwise with the revival in religion. It is true that Catholic unity is incompatible with a false and narrow nationalism, that would make us reject the truth if it should come from a foreign shore, and cling fondly to our own errors. But there is withal another side to the picture. The Church of all nations is nowhere a foreign religion. And happily in every European land it can appeal to the patriotism of the people as the faith of their fathers. Hence it is scarcely surprising that a study of the lives of English Saints and the Catholic life of mediæval England, formed a prominent feature in the Catholic revival in this country.

In most countries this patriotic or national sentiment gives unmistakable proofs of its presence, and we may see tokens of its influence in politics, or art, or letters. But it is naturally stronger and more predominant in some lands, where it has gathered fresh vigour and vitality from a long and strenuous struggle. Many instances of this intensified patriotism will readily rise in the reader's memory ; and though many of us may have a natural preference

for other nationalities nearer home, few, we fancy, will question the peculiar eminence of the Hungarians in this civic virtue. It may be safely said that, in no other land has this national sentiment been more deep, and strong, and fruitful. Here, if anywhere, nationalism has been the dominant note in the life of the century. And in the pages of recent Hungarian history, we can follow the evolution of the national idea in all its various phases, in the fervid aspiration and the mingled hopes and fears before the Revolution, in the struggle on the field of battle, in the dark days of defeat and apparent failure, and in the peaceful progress to the final triumph. And, what is more to our present purpose, the literary element in this national movement is specially prominent.

In most cases where a people passes through a great historic crisis, this is accompanied or followed by a new harvest of national literature. And often enough the literary movement is one of the main factors in political or social changes. Thus the writings of Görres and the stirring songs of Herwegh and Hoffman had no mean share in the work that was afterwards accomplished by the policy of Bismarck and the strategy of Moltke. But among the Magyars, literature was a yet more potent force in the national awakening, and gave a more perfect expression to the hopes and aspirations of the people. And as was only fit, the literature which prepared the way for social and political changes has had a full share in the fruits of victory. The patriotic Magyar may point with pride to his country's progress in the nineteenth century, in culture and wealth, and in political power. But, if we are not mistaken, the greatest of its glories is the rich and varied national literature.

As we might expect, when we remember what is the religion of the greater part of the people, much of this literature is the work of Catholics. Naturally enough, Magyars of all creeds had their share in the national movement, and some of the greatest writers were Protestants. But as a fresh proof of the compatibility of orthodoxy and patriotism, it is pleasant to find that some of the foremost and most intensely national of the Magyar

poets came from the Catholic part of the people. Such was the case with Michael Vörösmarty, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated in Hungary last year. Born in December, 1800, on the very eve of the nineteenth century, he was destined to become one of the first founders of a new national literature. His voluminous writings comprise poetry of every kind—epic, dramatic, and lyric. But the last alone forms his chief title to fame, and, if all his other works were forgotten, one of his songs would still live in the hearts of all true Hungarians. This is the “Szózat,” or “Voice,” which has been fitly called the “Marseillaise” of the Magyars. In the realms of poesy, Petöfi and Arany may rank higher than Vörösmarty, yet in some sense, the author of the “Szózat” may still be regarded as the national poet of Hungary.

Perhaps no poem of the century has had a deeper or more far-reaching influence than this hymn of Hungarian patriotism; though it has some dangerous rivals in Germany and elsewhere. It is, of course, possible to mistake reflection for influence, when some deep wave of feeling sweeps over a people, and the common aspiration of all finds fit expression in the words of a poet or orator. And it would be an exaggeration to say that Vörösmarty was the author of the national movement—a mistake too often made in regard to the writers who preceded another revolution. But, on the other hand, such a song as the “Szózat” is something more than a mere echo of popular emotion. It is a deed as well as a word; and must needs add fresh force and volume to the fire at which it was kindled. It is hard to give the first place where so many are excellent, but to some it will seem that this psalm of patriotism belongs to a higher order of literature than most other popular poems on this well-worn theme. With the simple language that befits deep feelings, it flows on in a stream of natural fire and eloquence. Yet a careful study shows that in it all the chief motives of patriotism are arrayed in order, and the whole is set in a rhythm of thought, not less striking than the melody of the words in which it finds expression. The keynote is sounded in the opening verses which bid the Magyar “be firmly faithful to his father-

land, the land that was once his cradle and shall be his tomb. In all the wide world there is no other place for him, come weal, come woe, here must he live and die."

Hazádnak rendületlenül  
Légy hive, oh Magyar ;  
Bölcsöd az s majdan sirod is,  
Mely ápol s eltakar.

A nagy világon e kívül  
Nincsen számadra hely ;  
Áldjon vagy verjen sors kéze :  
Itt élnod, halnod kell.\*

From this, the poet passes to the example of Hungary's ancient heroes, and from speaking of the life and death of the individual Magyar, he is led to think of the life and, if so be, the death of the whole nation. This changing refrain of life and death gives the poem a strange air of mingled hope and sadness ; and its music now sinks in a minor key, now swells in a strain of triumph. Even a foreigner in a far land can hardly read the "*Szózat*" without emotion ; and he can well imagine what its burning words must have done to rouse the Magyars from apathy, to nerve them in the struggle, or to lighten the gloom of disaster. It was published some ten years before the outbreak of civil war, and some of its verses which describe the death of a nation falling in its blood on the land that has become its tomb, might at one time appear to the Magyars as a prophetic vision. But happily the brighter picture shown elsewhere has proved to be the truer prophecy.

As we have said already, the author of the "*Szózat*" can hardly be said to hold the foremost place in Hungarian poetry, an honour which most of his countrymen would probably award to Petöfi. It is pleasant to record the fact that Vörösmarty was himself the first to recognise the genius of the younger poet. For when the young and unknown writer could find no publisher who would accept

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\* It may be of interest to compare this with a fine passage in Ingram's famous lyric, "Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?"

The dust of some is Irish earth,  
Among their own they rest ;  
And the same land that gave them birth,  
Has caught them to her breast."



his poems, he sought the aid and protection of the poet who then held a commanding position in the literature of his country. With some little reluctance Vörösmarty consented to listen to some of the stranger's verses. But no sooner had he heard them than he hailed Petöfi as the first lyric poet of Hungary.

Another prominent patriotic poet, not unworthy to rank with Vörösmarty and Petöfi, was Dom Gregory Czuczor, a monk of the Benedictine Order. It might perhaps be thought that the national lyre would yield a somewhat softened note when touched by the hand of a priest and a religious. But the reader who turns to Czuczor's pages with any such anticipation will be strangely mistaken. Vörösmarty had voiced the deep national feeling of the Hungarian people, his "Szózat" set before them the issue of life and death, and encouraged them with the example of their ancestors. But the practical application of this message was largely left to the reader's imagination. Nothing was said to show whether the danger lay in foreign conquest or in domestic tyranny, or whether the Magyar was to approve his patriotism on the field of battle or in the peaceful struggles of party politics. Possibly when Vörösmarty wrote, the question was yet open; or it may be that he disdained to write for a passing hour, and confined himself to the great principles of patriotism which would hold good for all time. But when the Magyars were about to rise in arms against the Austrian power, there was need of something more open and direct, boldly challenging the enemy and appealing to the field of battle. This demand was met by Czuczor's "Riadó," or "The Alarm." Here, at least, there was no mistaking the poet's meaning. The sound is that of the clarion of battle, telling of flashing arms, and tyrant's purple bathed in blood, and proclaiming the freedom of the people: "the great God of the Magyars lives, woe to all that stand against Him."

"El még a nagy Magyarok Istene, vaj annak ki megtámad  
ellene."

It is surely a strange irony that a member of the great order whose motto is "Peace" should have written what

is probably the finest and most effective war song of the century! In the new agitation against the religious orders, the name of Czuczor should be a powerful protection to the monks of Hungary. Naturally enough, the "Riadó" excited the resentment of the Austrian authorities; and the mere possession of a copy was a dangerous privilege. And when the poet-priest fell into the hands of the Austrians, his life was in jeopardy, for at least one powerful minister was urgent for a death sentence. Happily, however, the court was satisfied with a sentence of six years' imprisonment, a term which was considerably shortened by the amnesty of 1850.

The name of Czuczor will chiefly be remembered for his patriotic poetry. But it must not be thought that the pen of the Benedictine priest was wholly devoted to these secular subjects. For the fire of patriotism and the inspiration of poetry did not make him forgetful of his office as a priest and a religious. This may be seen not only in his life but in the pages of his own writings, where Hungarian versions of Breviary hymns are found side by side with his lighter lyrics and the stirring strains of patriotism. At first these sacred songs might seem to be in strange company in volumes containing the *Riadó*, with the appended note recording the poet's trial and sentence. But one of the hymns, "*Lugete, pacis angeli*," seems not altogether inappropriate in this connection. It may be added that the prose writings of Czuczor show a similar combination of religion and the love of political liberty. For along with various volumes on sacred subjects, we find a Magyar version of the life of Washington.

But the literary renaissance in Hungary has not been confined to the realms of poetry. For the literature of intelligence, as Arnold calls it, has not been less conspicuous than the literature of genius. And here, as elsewhere in Europe, the century has seen a marked advance in scientific studies and historical criticism. In support of his strictures on our own shortcomings in these matters, the aforesaid critic said, with some truth, that no Englishman reading French or German would think of consulting an English work of reference when one in

French or German was available. It may be hoped that some improvement has been made since this utterance of Matthew Arnold's. But, even at the present day, we fear it still has some force. If we applied the same test to this branch of Hungarian literature, the result would be more satisfactory; for the great Magyar Cyclopedia, "*Pallas*," need scarcely fear a comparison with any similar works produced in France or Germany. Needless to say, matters of national interest form a special feature in its pages, and on these points it contains much useful information which could not be easily found elsewhere. But other lands are by no means neglected, and articles on English subjects seem to be compiled with care and accuracy. And the new Cyclopedia is by no means the only proof of the excellence of Magyar workmanship in this humble but important region of literature. It will be enough to mention the works of such a writer as the statist, Elek Fenyés. History in all its branches has been specially fruitful in the past century. For besides profiting by the general advance in culture, and by the adoption of scientific methods, it has received fresh impetus from the spirit of nationalism and the influence of the Romantic movement.

Here, again, it is pleasant to find that some of the foremost Hungarian writers come from the ranks of the Catholic clergy. Conspicuous among these historians is the learned Benedictine, Cardinal Vaszary, the present Primate of Hungary. As a writer he is most widely known by a compendious *History of the World* ("*Világtörtélenem*"), written in collaboration with T. Füßsy, and published in 1863. In more recent years, he has contributed to the publications of Hungarian Historical Societies, and treated special episodes in European history. Bishop Michael Horváth, a writer of liberal views who played a prominent part in the revolutionary struggle, is the author of an important history of Hungary, which enjoys a wide popularity among his countrymen.

Another Hungarian prelate, who is still happily with us, has rendered yet more distinguished service to the history of his country. This is Dr. William Fraknói, who was formerly known by the name of Frankl. His varied and

voluminous writings comprise critical editions of documents illustrating the history of Hungary, monographs on special episodes, a history of the National Assemblies, and historical biographies of various leading characters in Hungarian history. Like Dr. Pastor, he has grasped the vital importance of a close study of the original documents, and as a titular Bishop free to reside in Rome, he has made good use of the copious Hungarian manuscripts in the Vatican archives. In all this we may see the result of recent developments in modern historical science. And perhaps another and indirect effect of the same tendency may be traced in some of Fraknói's other writings.

With the multiplication of the documentary evidence and the increased labour involved in its examination, historical narrative on an extended scale is becoming well nigh impossible. In the language of the logicians, as the intention increases the extension must needs be diminished. Hence historians with a due sense of the demands of modern critical science are led to confine their attention to some particular period, instead of attempting the whole history of a nation. But a writer who has literary as well as scientific instincts, will naturally shrink from any artificial or arbitrary divisions, for fear lest the work should lose in artistic completeness and human interest, as it gains in accuracy and certitude. Thus while the scientific method produces a rich crop of documents, critically sifted and edited, the art of history takes refuge in the historical biography.

The literature of the age can show many signs of this twofold tendency, but nowhere does it appear more clearly than in the writings of this Hungarian historian. Other men in his position would have been absorbed by the labours of research and the editing of documents. Others, again, would have attempted a monumental history of the Hungarian Church or nation, with the alternative of scamping the work, or leaving it unfinished, thus helping to swell the long list of *compendia* and fragments. But Bishop Fraknói has happily avoided both of these different dangers, by making the life of some great prince or prelate throw light on many eventful pages of Hungarian history. Thus

in one of his earlier works, *Pazmany Peter és Kora*, he has given a picture of the life and times of the great Jesuit Cardinal, who did so much to stem the tide of the Reformation and save and strengthen the Church of Hungary. This work was fitly followed by an edition of Pazmany's letters. An earlier period of the national history is illustrated by the life of the warrior king, Matthias Corvinus, which has also appeared in a German version. Here, again, the author has done another service to the subject of his biography; for the king's letters to the Pope have been edited by Fraknói in the *Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae Historiam Illustrantia*. Among other eminent Magyars whose lives have been treated by the same indefatigable biographer, it will be enough to mention Cardinal Thomas Bákcócz, a predecessor of Pazmany, and the unfortunate king, Louis II., who fell on the field of Mohacs.\*

By these, and by other works too numerous to mention here, Bishop Fraknói has rendered an inestimable service to the history of the Catholic Church, as well as to that of the Hungarian nation. His name must be added to the illustrious roll of the historical writers of the nineteenth century; with those of Döllinger and Janssen, Hefele and Pastor. And even in the select company of the masters of modern history he must be allowed a high rank. The gifts that go to make a great historian, are many and various, and when several writers excel in different ways, it is scarcely possible to compare them with one another; and the difficulty is yet further enhanced when the works are written in tongues so far apart as the German and the Magyar. But though it may be that in the judgment of competent critics the palm of preeminence would be awarded to one of the Western writers, we doubt if even Germany can show an historian who has accomplished a greater amount of solid scientific work, and has rendered a more lasting service to the history of his country than this Hungarian bishop.

But the literary activity of the Hungarian episcopate has

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\*Erdödi Bákcócz Tamas. II. Lajos Király és Udvara.

not been confined to the field of historic studies. As our readers will remember, such men as Bishop Strossmayer, and Cardinal Simor, and Archbishop Haynald bore a conspicuous part in the theological controversies that accompanied the Vatican Council. And another prelate of that time, Bishop Roskoványi, of Nitria, has left some valuable volumes of Latin theology. Among these, his voluminous treatise *De Romano Pontifice*, published in 1867, is specially noteworthy. An interesting feature in this work is a copious bibliography of contemporary literature on the subject in all the chief countries of Europe. The learned author naturally gives special attention to the books or periodicals of his own land. And along with the more important papers on the Papal question in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, or in other journals nearer home, we find frequent mention of articles in the Hungarian *Religio*, which had already started on its long career of usefulness.

As we have already seen, this branch of Magyar literature is in a flourishing state, and many Catholic organs appear both in Budapest and in the provinces. As a favourable example of the Hungarian periodicals, we may take the *Katholikus Szemle*, of Budapest, the organ of the Society of St. Stephen of Hungary. (*Szent István Társulat*.) In appearance it might seem to be one of the smaller magazines; but its somewhat slender numbers, of some ninety pages apiece, contain, withal, a goodly amount of matter of very varied interest. For its contributors are by no means confined to the narrow range which seems to satisfy some other religious organs.

We may take as an instance, the issue of December, 1900, the closing number of the nineteenth century. It opens with an able paper on the poet Vörösmarty, in appropriate commemoration of the centenary of his birth. This is followed by an article, the third of a series, on the subject of Woman's Emancipation (*Nőemenczipaczio*); another on the problem of aerial navigation (*Léghajózás*); while later on in the number there is a paper on the state of the Hungarian stage. Poetry is represented by two original pieces, and a translation from Lamartine; and there are a few brief critical notices of recent Hungarian and foreign books.



The genuine patriotic spirit of the review appears both in the paper on Vörösmarty, and in the poem *Kard és Kerest*, which treats of the national hero Arpad, and the conversion of the Magyars to Christianity. And as if this were not enough, the same number contains a legend of the dark days when the rising power of Hungary was broken on the fatal field of Mohacs—a battle which, after three hundred years, is still felt like a fresh wound by the sensitive patriotism of the Magyar nation. Stories, we may suppose, are but a matter of secondary moment in this religious review. But in the present instance at any rate, the story is the gem of the number. The writer, George Tarczai (Tarczai György), has certainly given us a lively and pleasing picture of the monastery amid the hills of Hungary; and he makes us share in the anxiety of the monks as they wait for the news of battle, and in their grief on learning that all is lost at Mohacs and the king has fallen. The characters of the chief actors are skilfully drawn; and there is no little dramatic interest in the closing scene, where Brother Angelus saves the Church and his beloved organ from the Turkish soldiers.

In the customary article on current events, which concludes the number, some account is given of the good work now being done in the organisation of the Catholic youth of Hungary in a society placed under the appropriate patronage of the youthful St. Amery, the son of the saintly King Stephen—*Szent-Imre-Egylet*. It must not be thought that the patriotic spirit of the writers in the *Katholikus Szemle* is narrow or exclusive, or that it leads them to neglect the interests of religion and literature in other lands than their own. For, while Hungary very properly holds the first place in their pages, some of the earlier numbers of the last volume contain translations from the poetry of the kindred Finnish, as well as from the tongue of their Slavonic neighbours. And English readers will note with interest that the editor, Dr. Akos Mihályfi, contributed a paper on "The Renaissance of Catholicism in England." Altogether the *Katholikus Szemle* can claim an honourable place among the Catholic periodicals of Europe, and its publication reflects great credit on the



Society of St. Stephen.\* This society, we may add, has rendered many other important services to Catholic letters. And here, as in other lands, much good work is also done in this direction by the religious orders. As an instance we may mention the popular edition of "Lives of the Saints," now being brought out by the Carmelite Fathers of Budapest, under the appropriate title of *Isten Kertje*, or "God's Garden."

From Hungary, we naturally turn our attention to Poland; for the two nations, though differing widely in race and speech, are often associated with one another. They have more than once been united under the same crown, and this is still the case in regard to an important part of Poland. Besides this, their annals present many curious points of analogy. Both of them have stood as a bulwark of defence against Turkish invasion, and their service to the rest of Europe has been paid with a like ingratitude. As a result of the struggle they have sustained in the past, the Poles like the Magyars are filled with a deep and passionate patriotism. Hence, it is not surprising that the nineteenth century has witnessed a national movement in Poland as well as in Hungary. Here, indeed, the movement has not yet achieved a like success, at least, in the world of politics. But, though some statesmen may fondly hope that it has been finally laid to rest, there is still a Polish question, for which the future must yet find a solution. *Noch ist Polen nicht verloren!*

But if Poland has hitherto been unsuccessful in war and in politics, she has had no mean tale of victories in other fields. For the nineteenth century has been the brightest era in the whole history of Polish literature; and it may be doubted whether any other modern nation can show a richer harvest of great poetry. This is partly a direct result of the national movement and the struggle for independence, which in this at least had no mean measure of success. For here, as in Hungary, the poets

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\* By a curious arrangement the *Katholikus Szemle* appears but ten times in the year, i.e., every month except July and August. This decimal system gives the staff a holiday.

were enthusiastic patriots and political leaders, and the masterpiece of Mickiewicz, the greatest of them all, is deeply imbued with this spirit of fervent patriotism.

At the same time, the new Polish literature of the nineteenth century bears unmistakable traces of the influence of the Romantic renaissance. This also may be clearly seen in the pages of Mickiewicz, who was a leading champion of the movement. Like Coleridge and Wordsworth, he was a critic as well as a poet, and in the prefaces to his poems he defended the romantic principle from the attacks of the orthodox classic school. In the course of this controversy, he displays a wide acquaintance with the history of literature, and with the writings of contemporary poets in England and Germany. This may be accepted as a fresh instance of the cosmopolitan character of this romantic tendency in modern literature.

But while much is doubtless due to the influence of foreign example, it would be a mistake to regard this as the sole source of the movement, and overlook those other elements which were the spontaneous fruit of the native genius. We might learn this caution from the case of our own literature. As Carlyle has told us, Scott's first efforts as a romantic writer were some translations from the German, a play of Goethe's and a ballad of Bürger's. The fact is one of no little interest, and no doubt it had some influence on the Border Minstrel, and on his English disciples. But it would surely be a strange mistake to say that without this inspiration of the German muse, Scott would have written no romance, and England would have lost that mediæval revival in which his work was one of the main forces. The poems of Chatterton alone should suffice to refute this theory. For without any foreign influence that "marvellous boy" had all the spirit of the romantic movement, and Rossetti has rightly hailed him as the father of the new English poetry.

The same may be said with equal force of that school of Polish poetry of which Mickiewicz was the acknowledged leader. If he had something in common with his foreign contemporaries and learnt something from their example, the real source of his poetry was still in his own native

genius; and his chief inspiration was drawn from the legends of his own land. The reader who comes to his pages fresh from the German or English romantic writers, will surely find something more than the same ideas set in another language. He will enter into a new region of romance where "everything is strange and new." It is the same whether we turn to an historic epic like the *Grazyna*, or to a fairy ballad like the *Switezianka*. The history belongs to a period with which few English readers are familiar, the struggle between the German Crusading knights and the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians. And the fairy-lore of Poland has a peculiar quality of its own. And in both alike the poet shows the hand of a master; whether it be in the tragic power of the *Grazyna*, or in the weird melody of the fairy fable. It has seemed natural to compare Mickiewicz with Sir Walter Scott as a romantic leader, but, apart from the general similarity of their subject, there is a curious analogy in the character of their nationality, and what may be called their local patriotism. Our great master of historic romance was not an Englishman, but a Scotsman, who, besides the common heritage of British history and literature, had a further source of inspiration in the poetry and the romantic legends of the Gaelic clansmen. In like manner, the Polish poet was not a Pole pure and simple. He was a Lithuanian; and came of an ancient race, which has a language, a literature, and local legends of its own, though it has long been linked in indissoluble union with Poland, and shares to the full in all the aspirations of Polish patriotism. All his great poetry was written in Polish, but he ever shows a peculiar partiality for Lithuanian subjects, as may be seen in both the poems which we have just had occasion to mention. Nor is this less apparent in the greatest of all the works of Mickiewicz, the *Pan Tadeusz*, which opens with an apostrophe to his Lithuanian home: "Litwo moja Ojczyzna!"

It is pleasant to add that this same page of the *Pan Tadeusz*, that "pearl of Slavonic literature," as it has been called, contains a striking proof of the poet's Catholic piety. In his early childhood, Adam Mickiewicz had once

been sick unto death ; and when all hope seemed to be gone, his mother with characteristic Polish devotion, confided him to the protection of our Blessed Lady. His speedy restoration to health was regarded as little less than a miracle ; and to the end of his life the poet cherished a grateful remembrance of the favour vouchsafed him. In many a shrine of Mary, there are votive tablets set up in record of similar benefits ; and sometimes the exuberance of piety and thankfulness finds expression in the lavish art or the costly materials of the offering. And no doubt this Polish mother must have wished to erect some such noble monument of her child's recovery. If so, her wish has been abundantly gratified. For the poet has set up his votive tablet not in a village shrine, but in the sight of the whole world ; and he has written the record on something more rare, and more lasting, than gold or marble. The piety of the son has inscribed the simple story of the mother's prayer, and Mary's answer, in the forefront of the great epic, which will last as long as the Polish nation lives and the Polish tongue is spoken. After speaking of his loved Lithuanian home, the poet turns to the Holy Virgin and implores her to watch over the land and its people, "as once in my childhood thou didst restore me to health by a miracle, when I was offered to thy protection by my weeping mother ; then I opened my eyes from death, and forthwith I was able to go on foot to thy holy threshold to give thanks to God for the life restored to me—even so shalt thou by a miracle bring us back to the bosom of our country !"

"Jak mnie dziecko do zdrowie powrocilas cudem—  
 (Gdy od placzacej matki pod Twoja opieke  
 Ofiarowany, martwa podnioslem powieke.  
 I zaraz moglem pieszo, do Twych swiatym progu  
 Isc, za wroczone zycie podziekowac Bogu)—  
 Tak nas powrocisz cudem na Ojczyzny lono !"

As a further instance of the poet's piety, we may mention that his minor lyrics include an ode on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. And apart from these direct indications of his belief, it is clear from the whole tenor of his life that Adam Mickiewicz was a man of deep religious feeling ; and a strong strain of

spiritual emotion runs through his poetry and his patriotism. His passionate love of liberty, indeed, led him into some difficulties in the perilous cross currents of politics and religion. For various reasons, the Church authorities are often disposed to look askance at anything that savours of revolution. And, in any case, their attitude must needs seem too calm and cautious for enthusiasts whose own zeal is apt to outrun their discretion. And, much as we may regret any friction or collision in these matters, it can scarcely surprise us. "The Polish Pilgrim," a prose work by Mickiewicz, appeared in a French version, with a preface by Montalembert, and an impassioned Ode to Poland, written by Lamennais. The volume, for whatever reason, was condemned in Rome. It has been said that the censure was mainly directed against the preface, the author of which at once submitted with his wonted loyalty. Mickiewicz, it must be added, had another danger besides that of excessive liberalism; for he was for some time deluded by the visionary views of the mystic prophet Towianski. Happily, however, the poet escaped the fate of those unfortunate enthusiasts who have drifted out of the Church, and he died as he had lived in the faith of his childhood.

Adam Mickiewicz may be rightly ranked among the great poets of modern European literature, with Goethe and Heine in Germany, with Victor Hugo in France, with Wordsworth, and Byron, and Tennyson, in England. But there are reasons which make it well-nigh impossible for the Polish poet to be properly appreciated outside his own nation. For the number of foreigners who read Polish is comparatively insignificant. It is true that most of his chief works have already appeared in various French, English, and German versions. But of all literature, poetry must always suffer the most in the process of translation; and the full power of the poet is only felt when he is read in the original. Nor would the acknowledged preeminence of a poet like Mickiewicz in the literature of his own country afford us much help, unless we have some means of taking the measure of his compatriots. For in the absence of some common

standard, this might, for all we know, be no more than the proverbial preeminence of the one-eyed among the blind. *Au royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois.* Happily, however, there is now a means by which the real greatness of Polish literature can be known to the outer world. For the novelist, in these matters, has the advantage over the poet; since his power is less dependent on the form of words in which his ideas find expression, and consequently has far less to lose in passing from one language to another. Hence he can be justly appreciated by readers who only know his work in foreign versions. A great Polish poet may be little known or loved outside his own nation and a comparatively narrow circle of students. But a great Polish novelist can take the whole world by storm. And in this we are not left to speculate on possibilities, for this feat has actually been accomplished by the *Quo Vadis?* of Henryk Sienkiewicz.

Even here the writer who has to depend on the accuracy of the various translators, and can hardly be so fortunate as to fall into good hands in every instance, must needs suffer some little loss; and the Englishman, or the Frenchman, who can speak to a wider audience in their own tongue, will still have some advantage over the Pole and the Hungarian. Yet it may be doubted whether any work in recent literature has achieved a more remarkable success than this Polish novel. Sienkiewicz was certainly fortunate in his English translator; and great credit is due to Mr. Jeremiah Curtin, the accomplished Irish-American scholar, who first interpreted the book for the benefit of English readers. But it must not be forgotten that the success of *Quo Vadis?* in the French version was equally conspicuous. It would be a mistake to attach too much weight to the mere fact that the work was circulated broadcast and widely read. For popularity is sometimes due to causes that have little connection with literary merit, and is sometimes the price paid for pandering to a false taste and a craving for sensation. But, as we need hardly say, it was far otherwise with the *Quo Vadis?* of Sienkiewicz. Its success



was surely due to its possession of all the qualities that make a great historical romance—a lively and faithful picture of the times in which the scene is laid, and a story of dramatic interest, in which the characters are not mere abstractions but living men and women.

Were it only for these characteristics, this Polish work might take a high place among the novels of the century. But the book is all this and something more. Like other historical romances, it ministers to the pleasure of the reader and helps him to understand the story of the age. But besides this, it serves to convey a deeper lesson. Behind the life-drama of the heroine with its picturesque historical background, there looms a larger drama in the death struggle of the two forces personified in Nero and St. Peter: and the mingled strands of history and fiction are blended in one great artistic presentment of the triumph of Catholic Christianity. The tragic contest between the two ideals may indeed be traced throughout the whole story, but there are two passages in which it stands out in all its significance. One is that striking scene in which the Apostle and the tyrant meet face to face; and the other is the closing page of the story, where Nero's inglorious death is contrasted with the living power of Peter. "Thus Nero passed away, as the lightning passes, as the storm passes; but from the Vatican heights the successor of St. Peter still rules the city and the world." In the history of recent literature, there are few facts more gratifying to the Catholic reader than the world-wide welcome accorded to this noble novel.

The two writers we have mentioned may suffice to show that Catholic Poland has no dearth of great poetry and imaginative fiction. And, as the critical essays of Mickiewicz and the scholarship displayed by the novelist might lead us to suppose, the land is equally fruitful in the learned literature of history, theology and criticism. Much of this is, naturally enough, the work of Catholic writers, and more especially of the Polish Jesuits, who have long done good service to the cause of literature and education. A little book now lying before us affords



some proof of their literary activity in the early years of the century. It is the Dictionary of Classical Antiquities of Father Gregory Piramowicz, which was printed at Polotsk, in 1807, at the Press of the Jesuit College.\*

The date is not without interest; for as the reader may remember the general restoration of the Society did not take place till 1814. But the Jesuits of Poland and White Russia enjoyed a special privilege in the matter. At the time of the suppression they had been allowed to survive, with some informal recognition, at the instance of the Russian Government, which could not dispense with the educational services of the Fathers. And at the opening of the last century they were fully restored some years before the revival of the Society in other lands.

We cannot deal in detail with the various branches of the theological literature; but we may say a word in passing on the works of devotion. Polish Catholics have a goodly supply of books of prayers, hymns and meditation; both original and translated from French or Italian sources. The rich and flexible language is admirably adapted to the purposes of prayer and praise; and the fervent piety of the Polish people gives to these works a devotional warmth that is sometimes supposed to be the peculiar prerogative of the softer Southern races. As an instance, we may mention the Hymns to the Sacred Heart, appended to a little book of Marian devotion, published at Pelplin, in Prussian Poland, in 1874. The past century has been rich in hymnology, but it would not be easy to find anything of the same kind in any language to surpass these Polish hymns in tenderness and beauty. It may be of interest to note that the book has the *imprimatur* of the present Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, who was then the Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen. And it is dated in the year of the *Kulturkampf* crisis, in which he suffered imprisonment.†

Of the Polish periodicals, it will be enough to mention the weekly *Przegląd Katolicki*, of Warsaw, and the

\* Dykcyonarz Starożytnosci, przez Xiedza Grzegorza Piramowicza. W. Polocku, W. Drukarni, Coll. Soc. Jesu. Roku 1807.

† Miesiac Niepokalanego Serca Najsw. Maryi Panny. Pelplin, 1874.

monthly review, *Przegląd Powszechny*. The latter organ contains some important original articles on questions of theology. Such, for instance, were the papers on the "Communion of the Saints," by Father Marian Morawski, S.J., specially mentioned by Dr. Kirsch in his monograph on the same subject in the new *Forschungen* of Mainz. It says much for the importance and originality of the work done in the Polish periodical that a German version of these articles was published immediately afterwards in the pages of the *Katholik*.

What has been said so far must suffice for the subject of Polish Catholic literature; though here, as elsewhere, we have had to be content with but a very brief notice of a few of the leading writers. Yet even this has occupied our attention so long that what we have to say on the work done in the kindred nation of Bohemia must be brought within yet straiter limits. Both in Poland and in Hungary we have been led to dwell on the imaginative side of the literature, rather than on work of learning and theology. Were it only for this reason, it may not be amiss to pursue a different course in the case of Bohemia, and confine our attention to writings belonging to this second category.

The nineteenth century has been particularly fruitful in Biblical literature, and though the sacred volume has already occupied the minds of Christian scholars in every age, there is probably no period that has produced a more abundant supply of critical commentaries. Among the many labourers in this field, the Protestant or Rationalistic scholars of Germany and Holland hold the most conspicuous place. It may well be the case that some part of their fame is due to their bold views on the age and authorship of certain sacred books, rather than to their real merits. And their power, both for good and for evil, has been considerably exaggerated, by enthusiastic followers or nervous alarmists. But whatever may be said of some of their theories, the "higher critics" are certainly to be commended for their patient labour on the Sacred Text, and their application of modern scientific methods and Oriental scholarship.

Happily these writers have no monopoly of these desirable qualities; and some excellent work has been done in this direction by Catholic scholars, especially in France and Germany. But, in some quarters, the subject has hardly received the attention it deserves at the hands of Catholics. The field of sacred science is wide and varied, and many of our students are drawn away in other directions, to historical research, or the exposition of dogma, or to the controversial arena. And among those who would fain make a special study of the Scriptures, a considerable number are content to work on the lines of older methods, and confine themselves to patristic and theological exegesis. If there is one branch of our literature that seems to be in special need of new and vigorous development, it is surely this important subject of scientific and textual criticism.

For this reason it is particularly gratifying to meet with such a work as the large critical commentary on the books of the Old Testament, now being brought out by the Catholic professors at Prague. Like most modern works of this kind, it is in three parts—on the Historical, the Poetical, and the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament. The magnitude of the whole may be estimated from the fact that the Commentary on the Psalms, which is only the second section of the poetical books, will fill ten large volumes. This exposition of the Psalms, which is from the pen of the Orientalist—Dr. Jaroslav V. Sedláček—is already in progress; and the first instalment appeared in the course of last year. A few words on the contents of this volume may suffice to indicate the main lines adopted in this Bohemian Commentary on the Old Testament. In a preface of some fifty-eight pages, the author deals with such general topics as the age and authorship of the Psalms. The Titles, the division of the Psalter, and its use in the Jewish and Christian Liturgies, concluding with a succinct bibliography of previous commentaries, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, ranging from the early Fathers to such modern writers as Cheyne and Perrowne. In the section on the liturgical use of the Psalter, he refers the reader to Battifol's "*History of the Breviary*" Julian's

"Dictionary of Hymnology," and Cheyne's work on "The Christian Use of the Psalms."

Turning to the actual commentary, we find that Dr. Sedláček follows both the Vulgate and the Hebrew original, both of which he gives in a literal Czech version. The text of the Hebrew and the Vulgate are not given, as the reader may be supposed to have his Bible at hand; and the juxtaposition of the two readings in the same language serves to bring out their chief points of difference. Some readers would possibly prefer to have the text as well as the versions, but this would either enlarge the bulk of the volume, or lead to a sacrifice of the large clear type in which it is printed. Besides this, the notes contain any Latin or Hebrew words that call for special comment. In addition to the explanation of the purport of each Psalm as a whole, the meaning of every verse is separately expounded. As an instance of the way in which the author takes care to avail himself of the very latest evidence, we may mention that the last page of the volume contains a reference to Rahmani's Syriac "Testament of Our Lord," which had only seen the light in the previous year. This commentary on the Psalms is not the first help that Dr. Sedláček has offered to the Czech student of the Scriptures, for he has already published two compendious grammars of Arabic and of Biblical Hebrew.

We cannot stay to examine the other branches of Bohemian literature, or to consider any works that have appeared in the other neighbouring nations of Slavonic speech. But our examples of Polish poetry and Czech scholarship may be left to supplement each other; and taken together they may serve to give the reader some notion of the state of learning and letters among the Catholics of these two leading nations; and to suggest what may be expected from the other members of the same great family.

But while some of these nationalities must pass without any special notice, we must find space for a few words on the literary activity displayed by one ancient Eastern race. In the general development of

Oriental scholarship and patristic studies, in the course of the past century, special prominence has been given to the Armenian language and literature. A like progress has also been made in the case of Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic. But with these the development has been, with but few exceptions, the work of Western scholars—mostly Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen. It is otherwise with the Armenians, who have taken an active part in the revived cultivation of their ancient literature. And, what is more, it is they who have led the way. The source and centre of the movement has been the Mechitarist Monastery of Catholic Armenians in the Island of San Lazaro, Venice. This learned body is not unworthy of comparison with the monks of St. Maur, and the tireless industry of its members has rendered invaluable services to the study of early Christian literature. Some of the good work had been already done in the previous age, but the last century has witnessed some of the chief achievements of Armenian critical scholarship, and it is only in these latter years that the efforts of the monks have found an echo further west.

As a sample of their skill as critical editors, we may mention the fine folio edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius, in Armenian and Latin together with the Greek fragments, published by Father J. B. Aucher in 1818. As will be seen from the date, this was one of the first works of the Church Fathers brought out in the nineteenth century. No doubt some more recent editors in Germany and elsewhere have surpassed the Mechitarist monk in criticism and scholarship. But we fear that many of these later editions could scarcely bear comparison with the excellent workmanship of the printers of San Lazaro. Among the many Armenian classics issued from the Mechitarist press, it will be enough to notice a small but clearly printed edition of the hymns of St. Nerses, whose prose writings were also published in a Latin version. But the literary activity of the monks has not been entirely confined to the task of editing earlier authors, or interpreting them to others. And along with the works of the mediæval poet, we find a little manual of modern Armenian hymnology. An English version

of one of these Eastern hymns has already appeared in these pages.\*

We have already had occasion to speak of the English Catholic literature of the century. And what was then said, would naturally apply also to the literary work of Ireland and the United States of America, for, if it be not the work of Englishmen, it is at least written in the English language. And in these matters, political divisions are obviously of minor importance. In the republic of letters, France may be regarded as including part of Belgium and some of the Swiss cantons; while Austria is still to all intents and purposes a portion of Germany. Nevertheless, before concluding this survey of the literary work of the past century, we must be allowed to add a few words on the literature of Ireland and America.

Ireland, indeed, has a more special ground for claiming literary independence; for, as the outer world of barbarians has lately been told in somewhat resonant tones, she has a literature and a language of her own. And though the great bulk of this literature belongs to earlier ages, the field has been newly cultivated in the nineteenth century by such worthy labourers as Archbishop Mc.Hale, the Irish translator of Homer. But this Gaelic literature might be treated with more advantage in a different connection, and without special reference to the past century. Hence, we need not pursue the subject further on the present occasion. When we turn to consider the works written by Irishmen in the English tongue, we naturally meet with much that scarcely needs any special comment, and is simply merged in the general mass of our literature. In some cases the similarity of subject leaves little scope for nice national, or racial, distinctions. And it must be remembered that, after all, the Catholic writers in these islands are bound together by other and closer ties than that of a common language. A considerable proportion of the clergy and people in England are of Irish race, and our chief

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\* Cf. Eastern devotion to St. Joseph, DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1895. Some translations from the hymns of St. Nerses are included in Mr. Orby Shipley's collection, "*Carmina Mariana*."



Catholic works in literature as elsewhere, are the result of the joint labours of Englishmen and Irishmen.

At the same time, there are other regions of literature in which national characteristics have freer play, and assert their independence in spite of the common language. We are not now concerned with the burning questions of Irish politics. But we may observe that Ireland has been the scene of a national movement in some degree analogous to those of Hungary and Poland; and, at least in some of its phases, here also the movement has found a vigorous literary expression. This may be clearly seen in the "Spirit of the Nation," and in other productions of the Young Ireland party, to say nothing of the political songs and other writings of more recent years. But the effects of the movement and the awakening of the national spirit may also be traced in the serener realms of pure literature. Poets and writers of imaginative fiction may still make use of the Saxon speech, but their inspiration is drawn from the heart of their own people, and the note which they sound is distinctly national. It is scarcely necessary to cite any special instance, when the writers and their works must already be sufficiently known to most of our readers. But we may be permitted to name at least one poet, and one novelist, whose work is at once of a high literary order, and distinctly Irish and national. And for this purpose we can hardly do better than take the poetry of Katherine Tynan (Mrs. Hinckson), and Frank Mathew's novel of '98, "*The Wood of the Brambles*."

Besides this distinctly national literature at home, there is also an Irish element in much of the Catholic work done in England, and some of our own journals and literary organs often have, to say the least, a strong Celtic flavour. But in the Catholic Church in America the infusion of an Irish element is naturally much greater than it is in England. And, for various reasons, the Irish Catholics in the New World are in a more commanding position than could well be looked for in this country, where their influence is to some degree counteracted by other forces. And it may be added that the Irish im-



migrants are largely drawn from the ranks of those who are most strongly national and hostile to English ideas. Hence, it is scarcely surprising to find that Catholic life and literature in America should be more Irish than English. We have a conspicuous instance of this in the late John Boyle O'Reilly, the poet-editor of the *Boston Pilot*, who was at once an ex-Fenian exile and a leading light in American Catholic letters.

At the same time it would clearly be a mistake to regard the two as simply identical. For large and influential though it is, the Irish element is after all but a part of the Church in America, which also includes a vast multitude of Catholic families of old English stock, or from most of the nations of Europe. And here as in England the Catholic ranks have been swelled by converts from Protestantism. One of the most eminent of these was the late Dr. Orestes Brownson, the philosopher and essayist. Before his conversion, he had founded a quarterly review in defence of his own opinions in philosophy and religion; and after becoming a Catholic he soon made his journal one of the chief literary organs of American Catholicism. He was an acute thinker and the master of a vigorous and trenchant style; and though he sometimes fell into mistakes—as for instance in his attack on Newman's "Development"—his services to religion can never be forgotten.

We have cited Dr. Brownson as a conspicuous American Catholic of Saxon origin. For this reason we are tempted to quote the following tribute to the merits of his Irish fellow-citizens:

"The American national type is derived from the English, and the people of this country will always be an Anglo-American people in their predominant character; but he knows little of the Anglo-American who doubts that his character is mellowed and greatly improved in its flavor by its contact with the Irish Catholic. There is no portion of our population superior to that in which there is a large infusion of the genuine Irish element."\*

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\* "The Irish in America." *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, October, 1855.

Many changes have taken place since these words were written, and the people of America have received such a very large infusion of foreign elements, that there may well be some reason to doubt the accuracy of this bold prediction concerning the permanence of its predominant character. Perhaps it would be safer to say that in the course of time the predominant character must become more and more distinctively American, as the peculiar properties of the various original races are more completely fused together in the living mould of the new nationality. In any case, it is clear enough that while the literature of the Western Republic contains much that is obviously of English origin, and much again that betrays the trace of Celtic influence, it has at the same time distinctive qualities of its own, and, taken as a whole, it is neither English nor Irish, but American.

It is perhaps due to the pervading influence of the political institutions of the country, that the American literature is, if we may so express it, more democratic than that of the Old World. In most European nations, literature is either a monarchy or an oligarchical aristocracy, where the multitude is dominated by the supremacy of one or two great writers. But in America we find a real republic of letters. In the Catholic literature of the country—and the same might be said of the American literature generally—there would seem to be no single author who stands out above his fellows. And, if we are not mistaken, the best of the American writers do not rise to the full stature of the leaders of Catholic thought and letters in Europe, such men as Newman and de Maistre and Möhler. Yet if we look at the excellence of the whole literature, we need not fear to compare it with that of any European nation. Like the land in which it has its origin, it is full of young life and vigour. And there is, indeed, scarcely any branch of literature in which Catholic America cannot show some able writers. It has theologians and apologists like Archbishop Kenrick, Bishop Spalding, and Dr. Brownson; poets and essayists like Charles Warren Stoddard and Maurice Egan; and novelists like Marion Crawford. And, as might be expected in the home of progressive

journalism, its Catholic periodicals are among the best to be found in any land, or in any language.

Here, as in the older nations of Europe, some excellent work has been done in the course of the past century. But, if we are not mistaken, the Catholic writers and scholars of the Western World may have a yet greater task to accomplish in the new age that lies open before us. The evolution of modern thought, the results of scientific research, and the critical examination of ancient records, have combined to extend the range of human knowledge. But, at the same time, they have, as a natural consequence, given rise to more than one perplexing problem in the field of Biblical criticism, or in the borderland of theology and science. To find the true solution for these new problems is one of the chief needs of the hour; and the task has already been attempted by many of our apologists and theologians. But while their zeal is to be commended, there is reason to fear that some of them are hardly alive to the real difficulties of the situation. And it is sometimes forgotten that, in these matters, there is need of something else besides the faith of a loyal Catholic and the learning of an orthodox theologian. If the apologist would enter on his task with any hope of success, he must at least be fairly familiar with the methods and results of scientific research and historical criticism; and cultivate the open spirit of the true student rather than the temper of the controversialist. Now we think it will be found that this modern or scientific spirit is among the most marked characteristics of American thinkers and theologians. And from the nature of the case this is only what might be expected in the land of progress and scientific discovery.

Here, in Europe, we have the advantage in other matters. The innate conservatism of our older schools, and the strength of venerable scholastic traditions, are a sure source of stability, and serve to guard us against many dangers in the direction of rash and reckless innovation. But, after all, there are dangers in conservatism as well as in liberalism; and incalculable harm may be done by a misguided insistence on obsolete opinions, which are mistaken for a part of doctrinal

tradition. Hence, occasions may arise in which the greater freedom and mobility of the American mind will play an important part in the evolution of Catholic theology. Not that this theology is a mere human system of science left to the mercy of chance and circumstance. But Divine Providence makes use of national gifts and individual genius as instruments in the process of theological or doctrinal development.

Much might be added on this interesting point, but to pursue the matter further would carry us beyond the natural limits of our present subject, to wit, the Catholic literature of the nineteenth century. And, as our readers will readily agree with us, it is high time to bring our survey of that literature to a conclusion. It is true that the subject is very far from being exhausted. And we could wish that the limits of time and space had allowed us to deal more fully with some of the works and authors whose names have been too briefly noticed here, to say nothing of many more that have not been so much as mentioned. But it will at any rate be some compensation if the obviously fragmentary character of the sketch here given, serves to save it from any misleading appearance of completeness. As we insisted at the outset, a full account of the Catholic literature of the century must be something on a much larger scale than the imperfect summary that has been attempted in these pages—though we fear that even this may seem too long for many of our readers. We need hardly add that completeness is by no means the only property to which the present survey of Catholic literature makes no pretension. Much more might be done, even within the limits of a few articles, if the literature of each nation were treated by some native critic, or at least by some foreign professor who had made it the subject of special study; or if the writer had been supplied with materials by some such competent authorities. It is far otherwise with the present series of articles, which does but record the impressions of a solitary English student, with such knowledge of the subject as can be gathered by a priest on the London mission.

When due allowance is made for these limits and

imperfections, what has been said may yet serve to suggest some notion of the wide range and the varied riches of recent Catholic literature. For though only a comparatively small portion of the good work done by Catholics in the past century has been considered in these pages; a goodly array of writers of every rank, and of every nation, has passed, so to say, in procession before the eyes of the reader. And whether by accident or design, the examples selected have been taken from the most various sources, masterpieces of genius or erudition, and simple books of devotion; Scripture commentaries, and revolutionary war-songs; sober works of theology, and historical romances; legendary ballads, and scientific histories.

This vast mass of literature is so multitudinous and varied, that it would be no light task to attempt its classification. But without seeking to discriminate between the different degrees in literary merit or the many varieties of subject matter; the whole may be considered as falling into two main divisions—the works of genius and creative imagination; and the works of learning, or the literature of intelligence. The first is especially the field in which the natural genius of the various nations finds expression; and in most cases the national literature is closely connected with the patriotic spirit of the people, which in the various races is often enough not merely diverse, but divergent or conflicting. For this reason is it gratifying to find that in the past century the national literature in all the chief nations of Europe has been deeply affected by the spirit of Catholicism, and men united in the one faith have borne their part in building up the great literature of France, and Italy, of Germany and Hungary and Poland. This should suffice to show that the Catholic religion is not limited to one narrow nationality or to the Latin races, but is equally congenial to all the nations.

And as the literature of genius shows us the harmony of Catholicism with genuine Nationalism; the literature of learning is a pleasing proof that the Church is no foe to scholarship and the advance of science. Looked at as literature, the writings of men like Manzoni or Mickiewicz belong to a higher order; but in some respects the labours

of critics and historians like Fraknói, or the German scholars, are a source of keener satisfaction, and a more hopeful sign for the future than any of those triumphs of Catholic genius. To the student of literary history, the picture here presented will naturally suggest a comparison with many another period in the annals of Christian letters. The memory of some will recur to the golden age of the Greek Fathers; or the age of St. Thomas and of Dante; to the age of Lope and Calderon; or to the French writers of the great era of Louis XIV. Some one or two of the works of those earlier days must be allowed to surpass anything produced in our time; and for the rest each reader will have his reason for preferring one or other period. But if we look not at any one book or author, but at the whole product of the time, we shall scarcely find any era that can show a more abundant harvest of the fair flowers of genius and the fruits of learning than this Century of Catholic Literature.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

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## Decrees of Roman Congregations.

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**The Solesmes Chant.** Letter of our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., to the Lord Abbot of Solesmes.

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Leo XIII. probat laudatque labores Benedictinorum circa Cantum Gregorianum, quem omnes libere colere possunt, etc.

**Dilecto Filio Religioso Viro Paulo Delatte, O.S.B.,  
Abbati Solesmensi.**

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Nos quidem et novimus et alias laudavimus positam a vobis intelligenter operam in scientia eorum concentuum sacrorum de quibus memoriae est proditum, ad magnum Gregorium referendos esse auctorem.

Similique ratione non potest Nobis non probari vester ille in conquirendis vulgandis veteribus de eo genere monumentis tam operose tamque constanter consumptus labor. Quorum laborum fructus varios videmus iis consignatos voluminibus nec sane paucis, quae Nobis grato admodum munere diversis temporibus misistis, quaeque late jam, ut accepimus, in luce atque oculis hominum versantur ac multifariam quotidiano recipiuntur usu. Omnino quidquid suscipitur studii in hac illustranda augendaque rituum sanctissimorum comite atque adjutrice disciplina, dandum laudi est, non solum propter ingenium et industriam, sed etiam, quod longe majus, propter speratum divini cultus incrementum. Siquidem Gregoriani concentus prudentissime sunt sapientissimeque ad illuminandum verborum sententias inventi, atque inest in eis, si modo adhibeantur perite magna vis et mirifica quaedam mixta gravitati suavitas quae facile illapsa audientium in animos pios ciere motus cogitationesque salutare alere tempestive queat. Quotquot



igitur sunt, praesertim ex alterutro ordine Cleri, qui se posse aliquid in hac vel scientia vel arte sentiunt, pro sua quemque facultate elaborare omnes convenit sollerter et libere. Salva quippe caritate mutua et ea, quae debetur Ecclesiae obtemperazione ac reverentia, multum prodesse multorum in eadem re studia possunt, ut vestra ad hanc diem.

Divinorum munerum auspicem, itemque paternae benevolentiae Nostrae testem tibi dilecte fili, sodalibusque tuis apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVII Maii Anno MDCCCCI Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

### **Little Office of Sacred Heart.**

The following decree approves, both for public and private recitation, a Little Office of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This office possesses all the Canonical Hours from Matins to Compline. Each Hour is of the same length, consisting of Hymn, Antiphon, versicle, response, and prayer. The Eight Hymns, all written to the metre of the "Jesus dulcis memoria," are extremely beautiful and devotional, and well suited for private as well as public use.

Approbatur pro recitatione seu privata, seu publica, Parvum Officium in honorem SS. Cordis Jesu.\*

Officium parvum Sacri Cordis Jesu antiquitus exaratum, ac nuper in meliorem formam redactum, Rmus P. Eugenius Peultier, Campaniae Provinciae Societatis Jesu in Gallia regundae praepositus, supremae Apostolicae Sedis approbationi humillime subjecit, exostulans ut illud Fidelibus tum singulis, tum conjunctim, piis praesertim sodalitatibus, liceat recitare. Quibus precibus supplicia vota adjungens Emus et Rmus Dnus Cardinalis Benedictus Maria Langénieux Archiepiscopus Rhemen. a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. parvi ejusdem officii approbationem enixe flagitavit.

Quare exhibitum ejusmodi parvum officium Sacri Cordis Jesu quum ad Juris tramitem Emus et Rmus Dnus Cardinalis

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\* Hoc officium a P. de Gallifet exaratum anno 1727 et a Cardinalibus Albani et Belluga revisum non fuit a S.C. Rit. approbatum, quia hunc temporis non visa fuit opportuna institutio Festi Sacri Cordis.

Andreas Steinhuber Relator, in ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Coetu, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coadunato, proposuerit : Emi et Rmi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, auditoque R. P. D. Joanne Baptista Lugari, S. Fidei Promotore, ita rescribendum censuerunt. "Pro gratia et ad Emum Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei." Die 5 Februarii, 1901.

Denique hisce omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto relatis : Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, qui cultum Divini Cordis ubique promovendum augendumque multipliciter satagit, sententiam Sacri ipsius Concilii ratam habens, parvum Officium de Sacratissimo Cordis Jesu prout huic praejacet decreto, Auctoritate sua libenter approbavit ; illudque tam privatim quam publice recitandum Christifidelibus concessit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 26 iisdem mense et anno.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*  
 † D. PANICI Archiep. LAODICEN. *Secr.*

### Feast of St. John Baptist de la Salle.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, by which the Feast of St. John Baptist de la Salle is extended to the Universal Church

Urbis et Orbis,—Festum S. J. B. de la Salle ad universam extenditur Ecclesiam.

Ad humillimas preces Rev. Fr. Robustiani, Procuratoris Generalis, et Postulatoris Congregationis Fratrum Scholarum Christianarum, ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacro Concilio legitimis Ritibus cognoscendis ac tuendis Praefecto relatas, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., ex ipsius Sacrae Congregationis consulto, benigne concedere dignatus est, ut festum S. Joannis Baptistae de la Salle Conf. cum officio et Missa de Communi Conf. non Pont., exceptis Oratione et Lectionibus secundi et tertii Nocturni propriis, post annum 1902, ab universa Ecclesia quotannis recolatur ; mandavitque ut Calendario Universali ac novis editionibus Breviarii et Missalis Romani ejusmodi festum cum supradicto Officio ac Missa (de eodem Communi *Os justi* praeter Orationem et Evangelium) inscribatur nec non elogium prout

huic praejacet Decreto, Martyrologio Romano inseratur. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 10 Februarii 1901.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI Archiep. LAODICEN. S.R.C., *Secret.*

L. + S.

**Decree as to the singing of the Litany of Loretto, and as to the October Devotions of the Rosary.**     *Sacred Congregation of Rites.*

Rmus Dnus Franciscus Salesius Bauer, Episcopus Brunensis, a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter expostulavit; nimirum:

I. Utrum Litaniae Lauretanae post tertium *Agnus Dei* rite ac recte absolvi possint, addito statim versiculo, responsorio et oratione, vel inserto prius *Christe audi nos* etc. prouti fit in Litanis Sanctorum, cum *Pater* et *Ave* vel uno alterove?

II. Oratio ad S. Joseph, in mense Octobri ponenda est inter Rosarium et Litanias, an post Litanias rite absolutas?

III. Quandonam dicendae sunt cum populo preces post quamvis Missam sine cantu praescriptae, si S. Rosarium, Litaniae et oratio ad S. Joseph non eodem cum Missa momento finiunt?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque perpensis respondendum censuit:

Ad I. Litaniae Lauretanae concludendae sunt uti in Appendice Ritualis Romani, omissis *Christe, audi nos*, etc.; versiculus autem, responsorium et oratio post dictas Litanias mutari possunt pro temporis diversitate.

Ad II. Oratio ad S. Joseph in fine Litaniarum Lauretanarum adjungi potest, juxta prudens arbitrium Episcopi.

Ad III. "Preces a SS<sup>mo</sup> D. N. Leone Papa XIII. in fine Missae praescriptae recitandae sunt immediate, expleto ultimo Evangelio," ita ut aliae preces interponi nequeant, juxta decisionem S. R. C. in una *Basileen.* N. 3682, diei 23 Novembris

1887; et si, Missa absoluta, Rosarium a populo recitandum non sit finitum, Celebrans dictas preces recitet cum Ministro solo.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 7 Decembris 1900.

L. † S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI Archiep. LAODICEN, *Secret.*

**The Roman Martyrology.** The following alterations and additions are published.

DIE 11 FEBRUARII.

Tertio idus Februarii.

Hetruriae in Monte Senario, Sanctorum Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum Beatae Mariae Virginis, qui post asperum vitae genus, meritis et prodigiis clari, pretiosam in Domino mortem obierunt. Quos autem in vita unus verae fraternitatis spiritus sociavit et indivisa post obitum populi veneratio prosecuta est, Leo Decimustertius una pariter Sanctorum fastis accensuit.

DIE 8 MARTII.

Octavo idus Martii.

Granatae in Hispania Sancti Joannis de Deo, Ordinis Fratrum Hospitalitatis Infirmorum Institutoris, misericordiae in pauperes et sui desipientia celebris; quem Leo Decimustertius Pontifex Maximus omnium hospitalium et infirmorum caelestem Patronum renuntiavit.

DIE 14 APRILIS.

Decimoctavo Kalendas Maii.

Sancti Iustini Martyris cujus memoria pridie hujus diei recensetur.

DIE 16 APRILIS.

Sextodecima Kalendas Maii.

Romae natalis Sancti Benedicti Josephi Labre Confessoris, contemptu sui et extremae voluntariae paupertatis laude insignis.

## DIE 15 MAII.

Idibus Maii.

Rothomagi, Sancti Joannis Baptistae de la Salle Confessoris : qui in erudienda adolescentia praesertim paupere excellens, et de religione civilique societate praeclare meritus, Fratrum Scholarum Christianarum sodalitatem instituit.

## DIE 17 MAII.

Sextodecimo Kalendas Junii.

Apud Villam Regalem in Regno Valentino, Sancti Paschalis, Ordinis Minorum, mirae innocentiae et poenitentiae viri quem Leo Decimustertius coetuum eucharisticorum et societatum a Sanctissima Eucharistia Patronum coelestem declaravit.

## DIE 23 MAII.

Decimo Kalendas Junii.

Romae, natalis Sancti Joannis Baptistae De Rossi Confessoris, patientia in evangelizandis pauperibus insignis.

## DIE 22 JUNII.

Decimo Kalendas Julii.

Romae, Beati Innocentii Papae quinti, qui ad tuendam Ecclesiae libertatem et Christianorum concordiam suavi prudentia adlaboravit. Cultum ei exhibitum Leo Decimustertius Pontifex Maximus ratum habuit et confirmavit.

## DIE 5 JULII.

Tertio Nonas Julii.

Cremonae in Insubria, Sancti Antonii Mariae Zaccaria Confessoris, Clericorum Regularium S. Pauli et Angelicarum Virginum Institutoris, quem virtutibus omnibus et miraculis insignem Leo Decimustertius inter Sanctos adscripsit. Ejus corpus Mediolani in ecclesia S. Barnabae colitur.

## DIE 8 JULII.

Octava Idus Julii.

Romae, Beati Eugenii Papae Tertii, qui postquam coenobium Sanctorum Vincentii et Anastasii ad Aquas Salvias magna sanctimoniae ac prudentiae laude rexisset, Pontifex Maximus renunciatus, Ecclesiam universam sanctissime gubernavit. Pius Nonus Pontifex Maximus cultum ei exhibitum ratum habuit et confirmavit.

DIE 18 JULII.

Quintodecimo Kalendas Augusti.

Sancti Vincentii a Paulo Confessoris, qui obdormivit in Domino quinto Kalendas Octobris. Hunc Leo Decimustertius omnium societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium, et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium, caelestem apud Deum Patronum constituit.

DIE 22 JULII.

Undecimo Kalendas Augusti.

Ulyssipone, Sancti Laurentii a Brundusio Confessoris Ordinis Minorum Sancti Francisci Capuccinorum Ministri Generalis, divini verbi praedicatione et arduis pro Dei gloria gestis praeclari, a Leone Decimotertio Summo Pontifice Sanctorum fastis adscripti, assignata ejus festivitate Nonis Julii.

DIE 13 AUGUSTI.

Idibus Augusti.

Romae, natalis Sancti Joannis Berchmans scholastici e Societate Jesu, vitae innocentia et religiosae disciplinae custodia insignis, cui Leo Decimustertius Pontifex Maximus caelitem Sanctorum honores decrevit.

DIE 18 AUGUSTI.

Quintodecimo Kalendas Septembris.

In Montefalco Umbriae, Beatae Clarae Virginis, Monialis Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini, in cujus visceribus Dominicae Passionis mysteria renovata, maxima cum devotione venerantur. Eam Leo Decimustertius Summus Pontifex Sanctarum Virginum albo solemniter ritu adscripsit.

DIE 19 AUGUSTI.

Quartodecimo Kalendas Septembris.

Romae, Beati Urbani Papae secundi; qui Sancti Gregorii septimi vestigia secutus, doctrinae et religionis studio enituit, et fideles cruce signatos ad sacra Palestinae loca ab infidelium potestate redimenda excitavit. Cultum ab immemorabili tempore eidem exhibitum Leo Decimustertius Pontifex Maximus ratum habuit et confirmavit.

DIE 7 SEPTEMBRIS.

Septimo Idus Septembris.

Nonantulae in Aemilia, S. Hadriani Papae Tertii, studio conciliandi Ecclesiae Romanae Orientales insignis. Sanctissime obiit Spinae Lamberti ac miraculis claruit.

## DIE 9 SEPTEMBRIS.

Quinto Idus Septembris.

Carthagine nova in America meridionali, Sancti Petri Claver Confessoris è Societate Jesu, qui mira sui abnegatione et eximia caritate Nigritis in servitutem abductis, annos amplius quadraginta, operam impendens, tercenta fere eorum millia Christo sua ipse manu regeneravit, et a Leone Decimotertio Pontifice Maximo in Sanctorum numerum relatus est.

## DIE 10 OCTOBRIS.

Sexto Idus Octobris.

Romae, Beati Joannis Leonardi Confessoris, Fundatoris Congregationis Clericorum Regularium a Matre Dei laboribus ac miraculis clari: cujus opera Missiones a Propaganda Fide institutae sunt.

## DIE 16 OCTOBRIS.

Decimoseptimo Kalendas Novembris.

Cassini, Beati Victoris Papa Tertii, qui Gregorii septimi successor Apostolicam Sedem novo splendore illustravit, insignem de Saracenis triumphum divina ope consecutus. Cultum ab immemorabili tempore eidem exhibitum Leo Decimustertius Pontifex Maximus ratum habuit et confirmavit.

## DIE 30 OCTOBRIS.

Palmae in Majorica Sancti Alphonsi Rodriguez Confessoris, coadjutor Temporalis formati Societatis Jesu, humilitate ac jugi mortificationis studio insignis, quem Leo Duodecimus Beatorum, Leo vero Decimustertius Sanctorum fastis adscripsit.

## DIE 9 DECEMBRIS.

Quinto Idus Decembris.

Graii in Burgundia Sancti Petri Fourier Canonici Regularis Salvatoris Nostri, Canonissarum Regularium Dominae Nostrae edocendis puellis Institutoris, quem virtutibus ac miraculis clarum Leo Decimustertius Sanctorum catalogo adjunxit.

## DIE 19 DECEMBRIS.

Quartodecimo Kalendas Januarii.

Avenione, Beati Urbani Papae quinti; qui Sede Apostolica Romae restituta, Graecorum cum Latinis conjunctione perfecta, infidelibus coercitis, de Ecclesia optime meritus est. Ejus



cultum pervetustum Pius Nonus Pontifex Maximus ratum habuit et confirmavit. Concordant cum Originalibus. In fidem, etc.

Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis, die 11 Martii 1901.

Pro R. P. D. DIOMEDE PANICI Archiep. LAODICEN.,

*Secretario.*

PHILIPPUS Can. di FAVA, *Substitutus.*

**Decree as to the crosses over the pictures in the devotion of the Stations of the Cross. *The Sacra Congregation of Indulgences.***

In stationibus Viae Crucis, Cruces super tabulis depictis integre conspicueque eminere debent.

Procurator Generalis Congnis Sacerdotum a Ss. Corde Jesu huic Sacrae Congni Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis exponit. quod a plurimis annis in Gallia mos invaluerit erigendi stationes Viae Crucis cum crucibus ligneis supra quas, in conjunctione brachiorum tabellae depictae mysteria consueta repraesentantes applicantur; ita ut tantummodo extremitates brachiorum crucis appareant. Addendum est quod in ipso actu erectionis istarum stationum Viae Crucis, jam tabellae crucibus adhaerebant.

Cum hisce de erectionibus sic factis controversia exorta sit, ad omne dubium tollendum humillime quaerit orator.

Num erectiones stationum Viae Crucis de quibus supra, validae et licitae sustineri valeant?

Sacra vero Congregatio proposito dubio, audito unius ex Consultoribus voto, respondendum mandavit:

*Affirmative* prout exponitur: Verumtamen, cum juxta decreta (30 Jan. 1839: 23 Nov. 1878) Indulgentiae hujus sacrosancti exercitii crucibus tantum sint adnexae, S. C. vehementer inculcat ut nihil innovetur, sed antiqua et ubique recepta praxis servetur, quae est ut cruces supra depictas tabellas integre conspicueque emineant.

Datum Romae ex Secr.ia ejusdem S. Congnis die 27 Martii 1901.

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

FRANCISCUS Archiep. AMIDEN., *Secretus.*

L. † S.

## Science Notices.

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**Patent Law Reform.**—Few persons would admit that the existing British Patent Legislation is without its weak points, but at any rate it embodies those elements of freedom which happily characterise most of our national institutions. There is certainly no Government guarantee for the patentee that his invention is subject matter for a valid patent, and the validity has to be proved in the world of commerce. This is, however, a fairer test than the system of preliminary examination in vogue in Germany and America, and the fact that a patent of importance remains in the market uncontested is the surest possible proof of genuine novelty.

Even under the free conditions upon which letters patent are granted to inventors in this country, the lot of every inventor is certainly not a happy one. In fact, compared with the few who really achieve a commercial success, the number who fail is exceedingly large. If, however, such restrictions were imposed upon the inventor as have been proposed by Mr. Alexander Siemens, it is questionable whether it would be worth anyone's while to patent. In his scheme the inventor is to be scarcely considered, and he would have to all but give away the fruits of his originality and experiments, often secured only after years of the most patient and laborious researches.

Mr. Siemens makes no secret of his view that the reward of the originator of any new industry is to be a secondary consideration; in fact, he states, "that a reformed Patent Law should have for its principal object the introduction of new inventions to the general use of the public, and while the interest of the inventor should not be entirely neglected it should be subordinate to the advantage and good of the people."

Mr. Siemens does not, however, press for a strict preliminary examination by the Government, for he considers that its practice in Germany and America does not secure a fair decision

as to the validity of patents. In this opinion he will be supported by many authorities. Speaking in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Siemens' paper at the Society of Arts, Sir John Imray gave his decided opinion that in the countries where there was strict examination, the examiners instead of confining themselves to questions of novelty or anticipation looked almost entirely to the question of invention to settle in their own minds whether the subject involved invention or not. It appears to him that a judgment as to an invention is the same thing as a judgment on the flavour of wine or anything else. He thinks the greatest abuse of all is that the examiners when they fail to find any direct anticipation search through a few patents, take one feature from one, and another from another, and, saying that the invention is not a combination but a mere aggregation of all the things, on that ground refuse it. Professor Ayrton told an amusing story of how an objection in America was raised to a patent of his own for a transparent varnish, which unlike ordinary transparent varnishes was conductive, on the ground that he had not supplied a drawing. He pointed out to the American patent office that it was impossible to draw a varnish, but they insisted they must have a drawing. Eventually he drew three vertical lines which he said represented a coating of varnish on a plate of glass, and got his patent.

The portions of Mr. Siemens' scheme to which serious objection must be taken in defence of the rights of an inventor are those which deal with the period of duration of patent rights and compulsory licences.

Regarding the former, he considers that for the purpose of diminishing the number of patents and preventing patentees delaying the introduction of the patented manufacture, it should not be possible to keep up a patent for more than four years, unless it can be shown to the satisfaction of the examiners that the invention as set out in the claims has been worked on a commercial scale for more than one year before the fifth year's tax becomes payable. Mr. P. M. Justice, in a few words, showed the impracticability of such a restriction. In the case of every invention improvements rapidly follow the original form of the apparatus, the patent for which necessarily remains unworked in favour of the improvements. As an instance, he quotes the case of the original Edison telephone, which was a huge instrument which had to be ground like a coffee mill when

speaking or listening. If Mr. Siemens' idea was carried into practice the patent would become invalid on the ground that the particular instrument was not in use after the improvement came into force. Mr. Justice further quotes the case of a large German aniline dye factory which employed over 30 chemists. Out of 100 products made in the works there was not more than two products in which the process by which they were produced was more than three years old, every process having been improved. Were all the early patents to be annulled because they were not all commercially worked? If it was so, the field of invention would be thrown open so that no capitalist would be prepared to risk his money in any enterprise under patents.

Regarding the question of compulsory licences, it is Mr. Siemens' opinion that the method of obtaining these should be made as simple as possible; that it should be possible for anyone who is prepared to carry out an invention or adopt a novel device, but has been refused by the patentee, to obtain one from the Patent Office. Such a practice would remove all freedom of transaction from the inventor. It has been pointed out that such strict measures are absolutely unnecessary, for inventors are not, as a rule, obstructionists; in fact, they are more often inclined to give their inventions away in the pleasure they feel at having their ideas appreciated. The true cause of obstruction is generally the obstinacy of the trade, who are, more or less, prejudiced against the adoption of any new and untried invention, and in this respect show a staunch conservatism.

As Mr. E. Carpmael has pointed out, many instances can be cited in evidence of the difficulties inventors experience in getting even excellent inventions taken up. Messrs. Thomas and Gilchrist had to assign one-third of their patent and grant a free licence before a manufacturer could be found to undertake their process, and, although that was done immediately the patent was granted, it was not commercially worked till more than three years had elapsed from the date of the patent. In the case of Watts' steam-engine, and Lister's invention of wool and silk combing and velvet weaving, fortunes had to be spent and years wasted before the inventions were commercially adopted. In more recent times it was eight years after the date of the patent before Hopkinson's three wire system was adopted at all, and years before Parson's turbine was used commercially.

The inventor is, in fact, usually in advance of the commercial world, and has to wait patiently until it responds to his genius. Sometimes the response does not come in the lifetime of the inventor. Is the patentee to lose all chance of the reward of genius because the public are as yet uneducated to his standard of thought?

Though few will agree with Mr. Siemens' suggestions concerning the life of a patent and the compulsory granting of licences, there are some paragraphs in Mr. Siemens' paper that save it from complete condemnation. It has already been mentioned that he does not support official examination. Another portion of his address deals with the importance of the extension of information concerning novel ideas which should be easily accessible to the public. He points out that in accordance with Article XII. of the International Convention the Governments belonging to the Union are exchanging their published patents and exhibiting them in their Patent Offices. Moreover of late years indices have been completed at the Patent Offices, divided into classes according to the subject matter of patents, and abstracts of the patents are published. In addition to the official efforts, an International Society has been founded for the protection of industrial property, with a central office in Berne and an official organ, *La Propriété Industrielle*. The technical press also helps in the publication by describing every possible novelty at the earliest possible moment. There is, however, still room for future improvement to be effected by collecting those curious sources of information at the Patent Office and indexing the contents. A manufacturer would then apply, from time to time, at the Patent Office to ascertain the latest discoveries which appeal to his trade, and where he could communicate with the patentee. Such a system would facilitate the business relations between the inventor and manufacturer, without depriving the former of that liberty which every British inventor will look for, in spite of suggestions which would enslave him to the caprice of the manufacturer.

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**Syntonic Wireless Telegraphy.**—Those who were present at Mr. Marconi's lucid exposition of progress in Syntonic Wireless Telegraphy at the Society of Arts in May last, must have felt convinced of the rapid strides lately made in the development of the new sense with which man is being endowed.

Mr. Marconi pointed out that so long as it was possible to work only two installations within their sphere of influence, the practical use of wireless telegraphy was very limited. With the system of simple vertical wires connected to the coherer and spark gap at the transmitter and receiver, no satisfactory tuning was possible, though a certain selection of signals could be obtained if various stations in the vicinity used vertical wires differing very considerably in length. For instance, the signals from two stations five miles apart, and at which the wires were 100 feet long, would not interfere with the signals transmitted by the other stations, about two miles from the first, which were using wires twenty feet long, and communicating over a distance of a mile.

A simple straight rod, in which electrical oscillations are set up, forms a very good radiator of electrical waves. This at first appeared to be an advance, as it facilitated the reception of signals with a small amount of energy over considerable distances. Experience, however, showed it was one of the great obstacles in the way of obtaining good resonance in the receiver. In good radiators electrical oscillations set up by the ordinary spark discharge method die away with great rapidity by electric radiation removing the energy in the form of electric waves.

To secure syntony it was therefore necessary to design a persistent oscillator.

In the case of transmission by vertical conductors resonators of a considerably different pitch will respond to it. This is explained by the fact that the energy of the transmitter is radiated in only one or two swings, with the result that oscillation may be induced in resonators of different periods; whilst if an equal amount of energy is distributed in a great many individual feeble impulses the combined effect can only be detected by a resonator tuned to respond to their particular frequency. The tuned resonator does not respond to the first few oscillations, but only to a long succession of properly-timed impulses, so that it is an accumulation of several swings which breaks down the insulation of the coherer and causes the recording of a signal.

Though there are great disadvantages in obtaining syntony with the vertical conductor species of transmitter, selection of messages is possible when two or three transmitters are used having wires of considerably different lengths and oscillation

transformers wound with varying lengths of wire in their secondary circuit, so as to cause them to be in tune with the length of wave of the transmitted oscillation. The following experiment is quoted in confirmation of this statement :—

“At St. Catherine's, Isle of Wight, we had a transmitting station having a vertical wire 45 metres long, and at sea, ten miles from our receiving station at Poole, a ship with transmitting wire of 27 metres. It is, therefore, obvious that the wave lengths of the oscillations radiated from St. Catherine's differed considerably from that radiated from the ship. Now, if at the receiving station at Poole we connected to a vertical wire two receivers, one having an induction coil with secondary in tune with the length of wave emitted by St. Catherine's, and the other with that emitted by the 27 metre wire on the ship, if St. Catherine's and the ship transmit simultaneously two different messages, these will be picked up at Poole, and each message will be reproduced distinctly on its receiver.”

By this method the best results are obtained when the length of wire of the secondary of the induction coil is equal to the length of the vertical wire end at the transmitting station.

Mr. Marconi soon found out that this system would not be a complete solution of the problem of syntony. For instance, he found it impossible to obtain the two messages at the receiving station if the two transmitting stations were placed at equal distances from it. If the 27 metres transmitter wire was placed at the same distance from Poole as the 45 metres wire, the waves radiated by it would be so strong as to affect the receiver tuned to respond to the 27 metre transmitter and blur its signals.

In order to obtain a radiator in which the electric oscillations would not be so rapidly damped, Mr. Marconi has carried out a large number of experiments, out of which he has evolved no less than three systems.

1. An ordinary vertical radiator is placed near an earthed conductor, the effect of the adjacent conductor being obviously to increase the capacity of the electrical radiating wire without in any way increasing its radiative power. This method has produced satisfactory results.

2. In this case the radiating and resonating conductors take the form of a cylinder, the earthed conductor being placed inside. This system is still more efficient than the one described above. A necessary condition is that the inductance of the two



conductors should be unequal, it being preferable that the large inductance should be joined to the non-earthed conductor. In order to radiate the necessary amount of energy it appears to be essential that there should be a difference in phase of the oscillations in the two conductors, as otherwise their mutual effect would be to neutralise that of each other. In the first experiments this was obtained by simply using an earthed conductor shorter than the radiating or resonating one. When an inductance was used between the spark-gap or oscillation producer and the radiating conductor, it was found possible to cause the electrical period of oscillation of the receiving cylinder to correspond to that of one out of several transmitting stations, from which one alone it would receive signals.

The results obtained by this system have been remarkable. By the use of cylinders of zinc only seven metres high, and 1.5 metres in diameter, satisfactory signals can be easily obtained between St. Catherine's, Isle of Wight, and Poole, and the signals have not been interfered with and read by other wireless telegraph installations in the vicinity.

3. A circuit containing a condenser and a spark-gap constitutes a very persistent oscillation. A very promising syntonistic transmitter system is the outcome of a series of experiments carried out with the discharge of Leyden jar circuits. An arrangement was first constructed, consisting of a Leyden jar or condenser circuit, in which is inducted the primary of what may be called a Tesla coil, the secondary of which is connected to the earth or aerial conductor. The idea was to associate with this compound radiator a receiver tuned to the frequency of the oscillations set up in the vertical wire by the condenser circuit. The first trials were not successful, as account had not been taken of the necessity of timing to the same period of oscillation the two electrical circuits of the transmitting convergences, viz., the circuit consisting of the condenser and primary of the Tesla coil and transformer, and the aerial conductor and secondary of the transformer.

Unless this is done, the different periods of the two conductors create oscillations of a different frequency and phase in each circuit, with the result that the effects obtained on a tuned conductor are but feeble.

In the case of syntonised transmitters the period of oscillation of the vertical conductor can be increased by the number of turns, or decreased by diminishing the number, or by intro-

ducing a condenser in the skies with it. The condenser in the primary circuit is constructed in such a manner as to render it possible to vary its electrical capacity. At the receiving station there is a vertical conductor connected to earth through the primary of a transformer, the secondary of which is joined to the detector. So that the tuning may be more marked, an adjustable condenser is placed across the coherer. To obtain the best results, the free period of electrical oscillation of the vertical wire primary of transformer and earth connection should be in electrical resonance with the second circuit of the transformer which includes the condenser.

The reasons for placing the condenser across the coherer are that the condenser increases the capacity of the secondary resonating circuit of the transformer, and in the case of a large series of comparatively feeble but properly tuned electrical oscillations being received, their effect is summed up until the electro-motive force at the terminals of the coherer is sufficient to break down its insulation. In order that the transmitter and receiver should be in tune, the product of the capacity and inductance in all four circuits should be equal.

Mr. Marconi has experienced little difficulty in measuring the capacity used in the various circuits, but the measurement of the value of the inductance is a much harder task. "I have found it impracticable by any of the methods with which I am acquainted directly to measure the inductance of the secondary of small transformers; the mutual effect of the vicinity of the other circuits and the effects due to mutual induction greatly complicate the problem."

Experience has proved the fact that the receiving induction coils having the secondary wound in one layer at a certain distance (about two millimetres) have a time period approximately equal to that of a vertical conductor of equal length. Therefore if an induction coil having a secondary 40 metres long is used on the receiver a vertical wire 40 metres long should be used at both transmitting and receiving stations.

By this arrangement the two circuits at the receiving station are in tune with each other, and the capacity of the condenser at the transmitter has only to be adjusted, which is easily accomplished, either by means of a condenser having movable plates that can be slid over each other, or by adding or removing Leyden jars.

If a start is made with a very small capacity, which is

gradually increased, a value of the capacity is reached which will cause signals to be recorded on the receiver. If the necessary system is within the sphere of action of the transmitter, then the signals will be strongest when the capacity of the condenser is of a certain value. If the capacity is further increased the signals gradually decrease, and if the increase of capacity is continued, and inductance added to the aerial wire to keep it in tune with the condenser jar circuit, electric waves are still radiated, but these do not affect the receiver. If, however, at the receiving station inductance is added to the vertical wire, and also to the end of the secondary, it is possible to receive messages from the transmitter, although waves of a different frequency are utilized.

The following passage shows the perfection to which Mr. Marconi is arriving:—"It is easy to understand that if we have several receiving stations, each tuned to a different period of electrical vibration, and of which the corresponding inductance and capacity at the transmitting station are known, it will not be difficult to transmit to any one of them, without danger of the messages being picked up by the other stations for which it is not intended. But better than this, we can connect to the same vertical sending wire through connections of different inductance, several differently tuned transmitters, and to the receiving vertical wire a number of corresponding receivers. Different messages can be sent by each transmitter connected to the same radiating wire simultaneously by the vertical wire connected to differently tuned receivers."

In the course of his tests Mr. Marconi has successfully carried out signals over a distance of 50 kilometres with a cylinder 1.25 metres high.

This has led to the construction of portable apparatus, which should be especially serviceable in military operations. It is possible to carry a complete installation on a steam motor car. On the roof of the car is placed a cylinder, which can be lowered when travelling. Its height is only 6 or 7 metres. In this way communication has been easily carried out with a syntonised station over a distance of thirty-one miles.

A 25-centimetre static induction coil worked by accumulators, and taking about 100 volts, is used for transmitting, and the accumulators can be re-charged by a small dynamo worked by the car motor.

A strip of wire-netting laid on the ground is sufficient for

earth connection, and by dragging it along, communication can be established even when the car is travelling.

Dr. Flemming states that he has had the privilege of travelling on this motor-car, and when he was miles away they were able to communicate with their hotel and order their lunch. This incident hints at the future facilities of intercourse by means of electrical waves.

Last spring Mr. Marconi achieved his record in wireless telegraphy, and signalled over a distance of 186 miles, between a station established at the Lizard, Cornwall, and St. Catherine's, Isle of Wight.

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**The Testing and Training of Distant Vision : Lateral Vision.**—In a lecture on the importance of testing and training distant vision with reference to military requirements, Mr. R. Brudenell Carter has given a specialist's opinion that the actual capacities for vision are seldom cultivated to the full measure of their powers, and then only by accident of occupation or surroundings.

Some occupations afford small images, and tend to produce acuteness of form vision ; others require attention to be paid to delicate differences of tint, and so produce an acute colour vision. Others again promote rapidity of visual perception. There are few paths of life, however, that afford cultivation of all three requisites of vision. As vision is a matter which we only know by personal experience, those who see imperfectly are not aware of what they miss, and are therefore not stirred to emulation by comparison with the powers of their neighbours. Parents are most supine in inquiring as to the sight of their children, taking it often for granted that they see as well as others. There is no doubt that persons who see indifferently often merely pick up the names of appearances from conversation, and use these names as if they saw the appearances themselves. The colour-blind discourse on the greenness of grass or the redness of roses.

On the subject of vision Mr. Brudenell Carter thinks there is both ignorance and indifference. He expresses, however, a hope that the evidence recently obtained in South Africa in favour of the belief that the Boers in some circumstances displayed more acute vision than our soldiers, may have served to call attention to the neglect of visual cultivation.

The proverbial haziness of our atmosphere will not be any

impediment to training, because a distance of twenty feet is sufficient for the purpose, and can be made to afford images down to the limit of visibility. "At a distance of twenty feet, no effort to see will be hurtful; for as effort of optical adjustment will at that distance increase the clearness of the images, the only effort possible will be one of attention to the impression that is made upon the consciousness. For systematic, or even for competitive exercises, all that would be necessary would be charts of letters, or of figures like some of these, first in black on white, or in white on black, and then in other colours and on other grounds, especially as improvement was gained in pale tints, both of colour and of ground. For exercises in rapidity of perception the figures selected should be made to pass with greater or less rapidity over the field of vision; and training in lateral sight, which could only be commenced with the knowledge and co-operation of the person concerned, might soon be tested during other exercises by the unexpected disclosure of lateral objects."

Mr. Brudenell Carter suggests that competitions in vision might be profitably added to the programme of school athletic sports, and considers that it would be ten times more useful to the average man to see well than to run well. Why should not a boy who could count dots ten or twenty feet further away than others, be as much a hero among his school-fellows as one who could jump further or higher than others?

Such competitions would also be appropriate to the functions of a volunteer regiment or an athletic club.

With regard to the vision of objects which lie a little away from the direct line of sight, *i.e.* lateral vision, Mr. Brudenell Carter's remarks, are most suggestive. Generally speaking, lateral vision is of a very imperfect character. In most cases the vision of any object which lies out of the direct line is only sufficient to convey the information that there is something there to which the eye must be turned, if more knowledge concerning it is desired. In illustration of the fact that the degree of acuteness differs considerably in different persons, Mr. Brudenell Carter imagines the following case: "Suppose a scout, lying under cover and watching the horizon, were to see the figure of a man rise above the sky-line, and that, whilst he was looking at this figure, a second should rise above the sky-line to the right or left of the former, and not sufficiently near to it to fall into what I may describe as the limited area of

direct vision, I have no doubt that some observers would see the second man as an appearance of some sort much more quickly than others, and that some would recognise the nature of the appearance without losing sight of the former, while others would be unable to do so."

There are two explanations of increased acuteness of lateral vision in the case of any individual.

1. It may be due to a constant movement of the eyes. In the case of a scout watching the horizon, who plainly recognises the second figure without losing sight of the first, he may have this acuteness owing to a capacity of making his eyes constantly travel backwards and forwards over the whole extent of the horizon. But it is doubtful whether the eyes of most soldiers would have this mobility. The majority would probably be so taken up with watching the movements of the first man that they would never see the second at all. A man, however, who was trained in woodcraft would not allow his eyes to rest continuously upon anything for more than the brief time required in order to ascertain its nature, but would constantly range over every portion of the field of vision that he desired to watch. Thus by the combination of free mobility and quick perception, it is possible to maintain acute observation over a considerable extent of country.

2. Possibly lateral vision above the average may depend in some cases upon improved structure of the retina, this modification being due to an adaption to certain conditions of living. As is well-known to the student of optics the nerve terminations of the retina are of two kinds, rods and cones. The cones are much more sensitive to all visual impressions than the rods. The whole of the central part of the retina is built up of cones. In the lateral parts the cones are scattered amongst the rods, becoming less and less frequent as they are further from the centre.

We may with reason suppose that in some individuals the cone-bearing centre area of the retina is larger than usual. It is clear that such individuals would possess an accuracy of centre vision over a larger extent than their neighbours, and hence they might embrace in one view two distinct objects so remote from each other that persons with a smaller cone area would be required to turn their eyes first to one and then to the other so as to see them distinctly.

It may also be supposed that some persons have the lateral

parts of the retina more liberally supplied with cones than is common. It is plain that the two would gain in acuteness of lateral vision by the departure from ordinary structure.

In many birds such a condition is normal. "In them not only are cones freely distributed over the lateral parts of the retina, but these cones are furnished with colour globules which are supposed to be subservient to a greater acuteness of colour sense than that of mankind, and which may well be conducive to the extraordinary acuteness both of direct and indirect vision which many birds give evidence of possessing. If you throw a handful of barley before poultry, and watch them as they feed, you will constantly see that a bird whose beak is busy on the ground before it, and whose eyes appear to be directed to the point of its beak, will make a sudden lateral dart to secure a grain lying widely to the right or left, and which would have been practically invisible to human eyes in the same relative position."

There appears to be nothing impossible in Mr. Brudenell Carter's suggestion that just as a different cone formation has been brought about in birds, so a similar development might be brought about in man by adaption to particular circumstances. "If there be any uncivilised men whose visual powers surpass those of Europeans, I am inclined to think that the explanation of their advantage would be found to reside in greater and more evenly distributed cone development. However this may be, it is indisputable that the acuteness of vision of the lateral parts of the retina may be improved by cultivation; of this, we have two kinds of proof. In the first place, the exact centre of the retina is of a yellowish tinge, which tends to obscure the image of a faint point of yellow light, such as that of a very distant and scarcely visible star. Such a star is better seen if its image be suffered to fall just away from the centre of the retina; and lateral vision to this extent is cultivated by astronomers. Again, in cases of disease limited to the central portion of the retina, and producing centre blindness over a corresponding area, we sometimes see a decided improvement in the power of lateral vision, brought about by effort under the stimulus of necessity."



## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Captain Deasy's Work in Central Asia.**—In a handsomely illustrated volume ("In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan," by Captain H. H. P. Deasy. London: Fisher Unwin. 1901), Captain Deasy tells the story of his three years' exploration of the heart of Asia. In his second expedition, in the course of which he marched in two years over 5,300 miles with his caravan, he made an accurate survey of more than 20,000 miles of country never previously mapped with any approach to exactitude. The difficulties encountered in the execution of this task may be inferred from the account of one observation, fairly typical of many others. The start was made from a camp nearly 15,000 feet above the sea:

"Enveloped in huge fur coats, and with the extremities suitably protected from the cold, Dalbir Rai and I mounted a couple of yaks, the theodolite and heliograph being placed on the back of a third yak, and with two Kirghiz to urge forward the animals, we commenced the ascent an hour or so before daybreak. The mountain side was covered with shale and a thick layer of large loose stones of various dimensions, and so steep was it, that we found the continual effort to avoid slipping backward from the saddle exceedingly unpleasant. We therefore dismounted, and continued the ascent on foot, considerably aided still by the yak, to whose tails we clung pertinaciously. The Kirghiz could not understand the craze which impelled me to ascend mountains in winter (it was about the middle of November), and to remain on their summits for hours at a stretch looking through a telescope, but they did their work faithfully and showed fewer signs of resentment than the yak, which now and then could only be urged on by blows. Unfortunately, though we were early at work, the strong wind was as early, and we found it very difficult to make observations. The observer was now and then blown against the theodolite, and the tail of his fur coat swept against the stand, and the alignment again and again disturbed. The altitude and the wind together made it difficult for Dalbir Rai to hear my

shouting of the entries he should make in the angle-book, and the work was delayed by the necessity of repeating the entries to avoid mistakes."

The march was varied by such incidents as the unloading of the animals when some especially perilous passage had to be negotiated, and the crossing of streams in all stages of freezing, often with ice not strong enough to bear, yet sufficiently so to impede fording.

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**The Traveller as Dentist and Doctor.**—Captain Deasy had a large practice as a dentist in Central Asia, where his skill so far exceeded that of the native practitioners that nearly all sufferers from toothache came to him for relief. The extraction of teeth was usually performed by the village farrier, who with a huge forceps operated on the struggling patient held by two or three men, and frequently pulled out sound as well as diseased teeth. The small size of the traveller's forceps, and the rapidity with which he operated secured him so many patients that on some days it was difficult to leave his quarters without being waylaid by applicants for relief. One morning on stepping out of doors he was met by the Yu Bashi holding a man who stretched out his arm muttering "Issok, issok" (hot, hot). As the native classification of diseases consists of two categories, hot and cold, he thought that medical treatment was demanded, and accordingly felt the man's pulse and examined his tongue. No symptoms of disease presented themselves, but as the man continued muttering "Issok, issok," recourse was had to a box of harmless pills, of which a dose was administered. The evident surprise of the patient led to the explanation that instead of "Issok" (hot) he had said "Issuk" (donkey) and was merely requesting payment for the hire of his ass on the previous day. Captain Deasy, who had made some study of medicine as a preparation for his journey, treated all imaginable diseases, including leprosy, and even successfully performed operations under chloroform, giving relief to sufferers from long-standing complaints.

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**Curious Deposit of Marine Algæ.**—At the height of 16,400 ft. above the sea a large deposit of water-plants was discovered, which on being submitted to Dr. Rendle, of the British Museum, were pronounced by him to be fragments of the leaves of

*Zostera marina*, or grasswrack, a familiar growth in our seas. They were, when found, interspersed with bands of blue shaly clay, indicating successive stages of deposition, and their presence is supposed to indicate the site of an ancient lake-bed of great extent, whose waters have been drained away for some unknown period of time, perhaps thousands of years. Another conjecture explains them as the relics of a former connection with the Mediterranean, indicated by the belt of Tertiary marine deposits extending from the Alps to the Himalayas.

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**Dr. Sven Hedin in Central Asia.**—Letters to Europe from the Swedish explorer bring down the history of his wanderings to April, 1901. His discovery of the change in the hydrographic conditions of the lacustrine region of the Lob Nor subsequent to the compilation of the existing Chinese maps, had invested it with a special attraction for him, and it has been the goal of many of his journeys. The discovery during one of these of an ancient lake-bed lent strong corroboration to his theory, while he identifies the sheet of water to which he gives the name of Kara Koshun with the supposed Lob Nor of Prejevalsky. With this problem to elucidate still farther, he started in December of last year across the mountainous region of the western Kurruk Tagh by a route which he found had been incorrectly laid down by previous map-makers. During part of the march they were three days without finding water, and only through meeting with some snow when the camels were nearly exhausted were they enabled to hold out until a well was reached. A week's stay on the ancient lake-bed was rendered possible by loading the camels with ice, and among the ruins on its northern shore some interesting researches were made. The most curious of the traveller's discoveries was, in his own opinion, that of twelve complete letters written in Chinese on paper, and in a marvellous state of preservation. Other singular relics are thirty small pieces of wood used apparently as tickets or tokens, each inscribed with the name of an Emperor and the year, month, and day of his reign. A local authority who professes to have read some of them pronounces them to be eight hundred years old. A temple of Buddha contained a Buddha carved in wood, and also some artistic carving. The evidence of fish-bones similar to those of the present denizens of the Kara Koshun Lake he points to in proof of his con-

jecture that the lake basin was filled within comparatively recent times, and was, in fact, the Lob Nor of the ancients. The respective levels of the two sheets of water also corroborate his conclusion, as the bottom of the old lake-bed is as much as 2,272 metres below the surface of the new, while the ruins on the ancient shore stand at an equal height above it. The waters of the Kara Koshun Lake appear, moreover, to be once more seeking a passage to their old reservoir, and are now spreading northward so rapidly that it is dangerous for travellers to encamp on that side of the lake.

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**Irrigation Projects in the Soudan.**—Sir William Garstin's report on irrigation projects for the Upper Nile embodies the results of his personal study of the question on the spot. Both the main branches of the Nile flow through great lake basins, forming the reservoirs for their respective systems, Lake Tsana in Abyssinia standing to the Blue Nile in the same relation as Lakes Victoria and Albert to the White Nile. To the first-named sheet of water Sir William Garstin points as the most eligible site for a reservoir supplying sufficient storage for the needs both of Egypt and the Soudan, while at the same time improving the navigation of the Blue Nile during the summer months. "This little known lake (says Lord Cromer in his covering despatch) is situated in the northern Abyssinian plateau, at an altitude of 1,775 metres above the sea. Its area is about 3,300 square kilometres. It is very deep. Its shores are stated by a recent traveller (Mr. J. L. Baird) to be practically uninhabited. If the level of the lake were raised by five metres a storage of 132,000 millions of metres cube of water would be obtained." The advantages of the plan consist in the scope it would give for the development of the country of the Blue Nile, which traverses a region of the richest alluvial soil, forming vast plains requiring only irrigation to make them as fertile as any lands in the world. The increase of the summer supply of water would also greatly extend the use of the Blue Nile as a navigable trade route, for which it is now only available during flood time. There is, however, one fatal obstacle to this project, which Lord Cromer goes on to point out. Lake Tsana is in the heart of Menelik's dominions, and no operations there could be even initiated without his consent, which it is very unlikely he would accord. Indeed, it is obvious that its adoption as the

site of works controlling the Nile waters would necessitate its incorporation in the dominions of Egypt or its inclusion in a British protectorate.

The second scheme formulated by Sir William Garstin is advocated as supplementary to this, and consists of the proposal to utilise the Upper Nile water at present wasted in the swamps, either by embanking the Bahr-el-Jebel, or by utilising the Bahr-ez-Zeraf as a secondary channel for the summer supply. The third proposal is to create a storage reservoir at the Albert Nyanza sufficiently large to supply the wants of Egypt and the Soudan north of Khartoum. The time, however, has not yet come, in the opinion of the eminent hydraulic engineer, for the initiation of any of these works, and he lays it down that as easy communication with the nearest sea-port must be the first step towards development, the construction of a railway from Khartoum to the Red Sea is far more urgent than any grandiose scheme of irrigation. The plan suggested by him is the despatch in a year or two, when the Nile reservoir works are completed, of well-equipped survey expeditions to study the sources of the two Niles on the spot.

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**Clearing of the Sudd.**—The magnitude of the work accomplished by Major Peake's expedition in clearing the weed obstruction from the Upper Nile may be inferred from Sir William Garstin's description of that formidable barrier. Instead of consisting of growing vegetation, such as papyrus and other aquatic plants, it had been compressed by the current during its long accumulation under the rule of the Khalifa into a peat-like mass some fourteen to fifteen feet in thickness. This floating bog completely covered the surface of the stream, which, however, found its way freely beneath it, running with a current of normal velocity. So solid was the crust, that it could be crossed in all places by men, and in some by elephants. The best way of removing it was found to be by cutting deep trenches on the surface and so dividing it into blocks sometimes a mile square, which were then attached by wire cables to the gunboats and forcibly dragged away. Two sections of the river are still blocked by sudd, but the main portion has been cleared.

In one of the blockaded sections the river has been diverted from its natural course and forms a series of shallow lakes

parallel to it. It was this weed which caused the disaster to the expedition of Gessi Pasha in 1880, when his flotilla became enclosed in its floating masses, as ships in the Arctic Ocean do in the ice floe, and most of his followers perished miserably of starvation, while he himself died a little later of the hardships he had suffered.

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**Trade Prospects in the Soudan.**—The general conclusion drawn from a visit to the Soudan in 1899 was that the rate of progress there must inevitably be slow. The supply of slaves was a source of wealth which has been cut off, and the scantiness of population is a bar to progress which only time can remedy, but there are signs that with the restoration of order this will be effected. Abandoned villages are being re-occupied, and new ones are springing up on the river banks. Cultivation is slowly extending, and the gum trade of Kordofan, once its chief industry, shows symptoms of recovery. The removal of the sudd on the Upper Nile will, with the construction of a railway to the Red Sea, bring vast regions within touch of the outer world; and the improvement of the navigation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal will open up a country described by Junker as "excelling all those of the White Nile Valley in its natural resources and in the intelligence and industry of its inhabitants." But it is to the eastern provinces of the Soudan that the report points as offering the greatest hopes of agricultural development. There tracts of the richest soil contrast with the swamps and deserts farther west, and the proximity to Abyssinia gives access to markets within comparatively easy reach.

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**Navigation of the St. Lawrence.**—The dangers to shipping on the St. Lawrence have been so accentuated by the disasters of the past two years that British underwriters show a reluctance to insuring vessels bound to British North America by that route. Canadian merchants, who naturally resented this handicapping of their trade, sought a remedy in the foundation of a marine insurance company of their own, and negotiations were undertaken with the Dominion Government to ascertain if it would be willing to subscribe half the required capital of five million dollars. English underwriters were questioned as to their willingness to reduce their rates, but their reply was to the effect that their profit

on Canadian business was so small that they were willing to be relieved of it altogether. The project was still under consideration, when it was nipped in the bud by the crop of disasters occurring this spring, after it had been already found that the business would be unprofitable. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has now started on a fortnight's cruise of inspection of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and it is hoped that this may be the prelude to effective measures for the improvement of navigation. Its present condition is prohibitive of a fast Canadian mail-service by this route.

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**The Capabilities of Ashanti.**—The Appendix of the recently published history of the Ashanti Campaign by Captain Armitage and Lieut. Colonel Montanaro (London : Sands and Co. 1901) contains some interesting information as to the products of the Colony. The bush is rich in indiarubber plants, and although the supply has diminished in late years from wasteful methods of collection, it will recover as soon as a fresh crop of young plants is allowed to mature. Seven distinct species of tree or shrub, and five of vines or creepers are enumerated as producing rubber. Mahogany is also found in the forests, but in the absence of roads can only be utilised in the immediate neighbourhood of the streams. The oil palm flourishes in some districts, and in the region north of Kumasi the kola nut abounds, attracting caravans from all parts of Africa. But the great wealth of Ashanti lies in the gold with which its soil is said to be impregnated. The women of Cape Coast earn half-a-crown a day by washing the mud carried down by the drains in the rainy season, and in the Sefwhi district the sands of the river can be made to yield £2 per week. From the Tano river on the west to the Volta on the east, the gold deposits run in a north-easterly direction, and alluvial gold has been obtained by the natives in every part of the Colony. The opinion of experts is stated to be that Ashanti, when opened up by roads and railways, will prove one of the richest if not the richest gold producing country in the world.

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**Present Disposition of the Natives.**—Some notes in the *Mission World* by the Rev. B. Hitjer describe the Ashantis as for the moment thoroughly subdued, and conscious of their



utter helplessness in presence of the white men. In many of the villages, nearly the entire male population has been killed, and fifteen chiefs have been hanged, some of whom were given up by their own people in order to secure better terms for themselves. The people seem in general to accept the situation quietly, and among the northern tribes there is no sign of resentment, but rather of a friendly disposition towards Europeans. At Kumasi, however, and in the south, there is more evidence of suspicion or sullenness, giving the impression that another rising would be possible should chance favour it. A railway will connect it with the coast and it will be occupied by a garrison of 800 men, so that there will be little temptation to rebel. In the north a desire for an English education is manifested by the rising generation.

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**Fauna of Lake Tanganyika.**—The expedition whose story is told by Mr. J. E. S. Moore in his recently published volume, "*To the Mountains of the Moon*" (Hurst and Blackett. 1901), was intended for purely scientific exploration. With the object of finding out all about the Tanganyika region, "which was, and still is, a mysterious place," the author undertook a series of journeys of which the first were in 1895-97, and the latest in 1899-1900. The most interesting result of his investigations is the discovery that the fauna of the lake is to a great extent marine, showing a former connection with the sea. The conjecture that the other great African lakes might exhibit a similar phenomenon has had to be abandoned, and the Rift Lake remains in this respect, as in many others, an isolated anomaly in the system. "The marine fauna of Tanganyika (says Mr. Moore) is, so far as is at present known, rigidly restricted within the confines of the great lake in which it was at first discovered: and as such it can only be viewed as a relic—as the zoological remains in fact—of a departed sea." The connection was probably through the Rift Valley, in which lie some of the other lakes farther north to the east of the Nile basin. This feature is supposed to extend across the Red Sea, and to be a prolongation of the remarkable depression containing the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan.

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**Park Lands of Central Africa.**—Mr. Moore has some interesting speculations on a feature of Central African scenery which struck him very forcibly, namely the occurrence of lawn-like expanses of grass, studded with clumps of trees, not crowded together as in a forest, but with plenty of space between, as though artificially planted. There is no jungle or tangle of underwood, and the trees monopolise the ground. He attributes the manner of their growth to the sheltering presence of euphorbia trees, the seeds of which are distributed by birds. Under their shade other bushes and plants thrive, and eventually choke out of existence the original occupant of the soil, which he frequently found in a dead or dying condition in their midst. This explanation, however, leaves unaccounted for the absence of crowding of the trees, which points to some agency for thinning them out. There is a tendency in the park lands to degenerate into forests, and they represent merely a phase in some cycle of change. Mr. Moore regards Africa as a continent which, so far from being in a stable condition, is undergoing marked physical vicissitudes, comparable, in his opinion, to those which produced the Alps in comparatively late geological times.

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## Notes on Higher Education of Women.

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### Professor Dugard on the Modern Education of Girls.\*

If we want to destroy manliness in men and womanliness in women, one of the surest ways of doing it is to train boys and girls to act according to rules of which they do not understand the principles. Mere regularity without reason is something lower than slavishness; it is the thumping of a machine. Domestic animals are our slaves; but a domestic animal is something higher than a plant; and a plant is something higher than a machine. The Irishman, in the story, said of his watch when it stopped: "Och! she's dead." But we do not generally attribute life to watches or to machines of any kind, as we do to plants. Again, none would deny that the life of a cow is higher than the life of a cabbage. And why? Because it is a less far-off, a less feeble reflection of the life of God, which alone is *absolute* Life. And wherein does the Life of God consist, but in His Intellect and Will, *i.e.*, in His Personality? To train our children to act with senseless regularity, instead of on intelligible principles, is to try and convert them into machines, to suppress their intellect and will, to obliterate their likeness to God, to degrade them to the level of machines, a lower level than the level of animals and plants. It is against this degradation of human nature in the persons of our daughters that M. Dugard pleads in his little book on "The Modern Education of Girls."

His fundamental assumption is, that girls have souls endowed with intellect and will, and that the development of their intellects by the knowledge of the truth and the strengthening

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\* L'EDUCATION MODERNE DES JEUNES FILLES.—Par M. Dugard, Professeur au Lycée Molière. Armand Colin et Cie., Editeurs. 5 Rue de Mézières, Paris. 1901.

of their wills by the love of what is good must be the aim of all real education. In this, of course, he harmonizes perfectly with Catholic philosophy. But when he comes to the practical application of his theory, and enquires about the measures which it behoves us to adopt, he virtually digs up again his own foundation. For instance, he puts "in the first place the teaching itself of the moral law with its independence and absolute character."

The independence here meant, as the context shows, is not independence of the State, or of local convention, but independence of God. Now, to talk of a moral law independent of God is more absurd than to talk of a square circle. Fr. Faber says of our Lord's life on earth: "That life is God, made visible to his creatures as the rule of life. It lays bare the very foundations of morals." This is true: for the nature of God is the only foundation of morals that is reasonably conceivable. To talk of any other foundation is to talk nonsense: and an education founded upon nonsense can never be either intelligent or moral.

The book is interesting as a concrete example of the horrible perplexity and bewilderment which marks the present attitude of public opinion on education. It is an exhibition in the mind of a man of that mental vertigo, which, according to him, our modern education, by its want of unity, is producing in the minds of women. He says:

"The evil in fact—and it is so profound that we cannot help noticing it—is that, owing to this double education, which draws the personality in two contrary directions, girls, after interior struggles, of which they keep a painful remembrance, instead of becoming for the world, what every young creature ought to be, a fresh power for good, remain, for the most part, souls distracted and without energy, incapable at the same time of old-fashioned obedience and of up-to-date duty. They have no idea of being seen and not heard, as in former days; but they are so little accustomed to reflection, so little initiated into the great ideas on which modern society lives, that a thoughtful man cannot converse seriously with them. They want to judge for themselves about everything; but, though they are sufficiently affected with criticism for their traditional beliefs to be shattered, they have not light enough nor method enough to rebuild their interior edifice on the eternally true basis of human thought. By seeing first principles alternately asserted and denied, they have lost that reverence for truth, which gives firmness of soul; and thus they drift aimlessly from negation to superstition, and

often towards both at once, because nothing agrees better with scepticism than credulity. They pretend to act; but they are so ill prepared for activity, and liberty is so strange to them, that prudence requires them to be watched incessantly; poor creatures, without guiding principles, who will never be able to steer their own course, and many of whom will be one day at the mercy of the first strong will that tries to make them his instrument."

Other pictures, as highly coloured as this, are drawn of the deplorable state of education in France. The avowed object of the book is first to account for the calamity, and secondly to suggest means for its removal. M. Dugard finds the cause in the mixture of mediæval and modern methods, which he considers to be mutually destructive; and he proposes to cure the evil by putting the education of girls entirely into the hands of the State, and by training all women according to the methods of the University. In advocating this policy he makes the gratuitous assumption, that there are only two alternatives, namely Obscurantism and Secularism. Catholic Philosophy has never risen above his threshold of consciousness. And he seems to imply (though he nowhere asserts it) that Catholic education tends to stifle the intelligence and cramp the will.

The great mistake which runs through the book, as it does through so much of the public opinion of to-day on the education of women, is the absurd notion, that intelligence and obedience are two irreconcilable principles. But the truth is exactly the reverse. Without intelligence neither obedience nor faith can exist. Obedience implies free-will, and free-will implies intelligence. Without intelligence there can be no free-will, but only animal spontaneity. And, as to faith, St. Thomas defines it as "a virtue perfecting the intellect." The "revolt of the daughters" really arises from *want* of intelligence. Our author seems to have fallen into the vulgar confusion of thought about "unreasoning obedience." It is quite evident when we reflect a little, that *all* obedience, to be obedience at all, must be in one sense *reasoning*, and in another sense *unreasoning*. It must be "reasoning" as to the right which the person commanding has to the obedience of the person commanded; but it must be "unreasoning" at least to the extent of not requiring a full explanation of all the reasons, which the lawful superior has for giving those particular commands. It is not obedience to do what "the man in the street" tells us; and it is not

obedience to carry out a father's wishes, *only* when we think the course advisable independently of his wishes. "Theirs not to make reply, theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die" was a good description of heroic obedience. But the obedience thus characterized was far from being "unreasoning" in the first sense; otherwise it would not have been heroism, but "Dutch courage," the ferocity of a tiger, or the insensibility of a stone. Why was it that the Six Hundred "rode into the jaws of death," but because they *understood* the true relation of soldiers to their commander, though they did *not* understand why the commander gave that order. And if those beautiful virtues which we sum up under the word "womanliness," and which are to women what heroism is to men, are to survive in this twentieth century, it can only be through girls being taught to *understand* their place in creation, and their true relation to God and to the rest of God's creatures. This is precisely what the Universities cannot do. They can teach Science, but Wisdom is beyond their scope at the present day.

Still, though M. Dugard's treatise is a conglomerate of the same contradictions as the modern education of which it treats, there are many fair pebbles to be picked out of it. Here is one:

"It is not right that what is called faith should be an opinion so far from being a personal conviction, and so little sure of itself that one might fairly call it 'only faith in the faith of some one else,' or stigmatize it with the definition of the school-boy, so profound and just to a certain extent in its brutal frankness, 'Faith consists in holding as true what one knows to be false.'"

Certainly, it is time that taunts such as these should have no facts left them to be founded on.

T. F. W.

## Notices of Books.

**Fouché, 1759—1820.** Par LOUIS MADELIN. 2 vols. 8vo.  
Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1901.

THIS book was taken up by the present writer with a feeling of weariness. One thousand pages of the French Revolution was a prospect which appalled. It was a conscientious duty to read the first few pages ; and then every subsequent page had to be read for its thrilling and well-sustained interest. Sure, never was biography more skilfully unfolded, or character more expertly delineated. Joseph Fouché, sprung from a line of Breton mariners and born at Nantes, commenced his career as a pupil, and continued it as a professor of the Oratoire de Jésus, in his native town. Here were passed some years of happiness, during which Fouché's life was that of a devout Catholic. In later times it was said of him that he had received the priesthood, but this was untrue. The era of the Rights of Man and other beautiful theories was at hand, and a long political ferment was beginning to work. Fouché was soon found at the head of an active coterie of local politicians, whose principles were mildly liberal, and whose desire it was to restrain the fiery zeal of the extremists. With this object, the Nantes Liberals elected their able fellow-townsmen to represent their views in the National Convention. Fouché had not long been in Paris before he passed over to the Left, and prepared to go great lengths on the road to Revolution. Incensed at this change of front, the Nantais denounced their representative in a public meeting, and clamoured for his resignation. A visit from Fouché, however, when he addressed his constituents in person and roundly rated them for their lukewarmness in the cause of advancing democracy, converted a portion of his fellow-townsmen and cowed the rest. The member for Nantes returned to the Convention and found himself confronted with the question of what was to be done with Louis XVI. Fouché first told his colleagues that he was strongly opposed to the



idea of putting the King to death—and then, ascending the tribune, voted, in a firm voice, “*la mort!*” The indignation of the Nantais, when they heard of this, knew no bounds; but their representative was now beyond their control. This incident, indeed, though but the beginning, gave the key-note to his whole subsequent career. It is sufficiently clear that Fouché’s real political convictions—so far as he had any—were in favour of democratic ideals; but this is all one can know as to his personal opinions. His guiding principle was that of self-interest and boundless ambition, and to this guidance he consistently abandoned himself through life. It was not long ere Fouché obtained a political mission from the Convention. That mission was to regulate the patriotic ardour of the populace of Nevers, which threatened to break all bounds and degenerate (*facilis descensus*) into anarchy and plunder. The ex-Oratorian was equal to this task, and accomplished it to the admiration of the terrified *bourgeois* of Nevers. To sound of trumpet and roll of drum, he summoned the unruly tatterdemalions to a patriotic meeting. Mounting the platform, Fouché gave them an alarming account of Royalist reaction in another province. The forces of the expiring monarchy were rallying, he told them; an armed host was marching upon Paris under the white flag, and the Republic, the Rights of Man, and all the other priceless assets were in danger. The effect of his appeal was instantaneous and enormous. Within a few hours the Nevers roughs were enlisted soldiers of the Republic, and were marching eagerly to meet the hated foeman in mortal combat. This success led to his being sent as pro-consul to Lyons, a hot-bed of clericalism and royalism. A terrible example had to be made here, and the guillotine was quickly set to work. But the guillotine is an instrument of exasperating slowness, capable only of cutting off one reactionary head at a time. Fouché soon stopped its trifling, and by the simple and effective expedient of cannon loaded with grapeshot, mowed down the delinquents in hundreds at every blow—till the pavements of Lyons were like those of huge shambles. So the work of regeneration went cheerfully on, to the great glory of the Republic, and of Fouché in particular. Other salutary reforms were effected at Lyons. The churches were purified of their superstitions—(indeed of their entire contents), such as were of intrinsic value being sent up to the Convention. We will say nothing of the items unostenta-

tiously annexed by Monsieur and Madame Fouché. Horses, mules and donkeys slaked their thirst out of baptismal fonts, and patriots of Free Thought proclivities wreaked their mean spite upon high altars. All "cults," it was effusively proclaimed, were to be tolerated; so the public exercise of the ancient religion of the land was rigorously repressed. Nay, so ardent was Citizen Fouché in the cause of emancipation from the trammels of clericalism, that he caused to be placed over the entrance to the public cemeteries the inscription, "Death is an eternal sleep." The ex-Oratorian's infant daughter, Névérie, received this name in "civic" baptism, performed at the town after which she was called. We are not clearly told in what the interesting ceremony consisted, but there were a *parrain* and a *marraïne*, and a great deal of speechifying and Rights of Man, and cheering, and general democratic enthusiasm. It must have been very touching; but perhaps Névérie adopted a dignified course when, some few months later, she sidled out of the Revolution and went to play with God's happy creatures in the Limbo Infantium. We next find Fouché back in Paris, where he was elected President of the Jacobins; but coming to loggerheads with Robespierre, he was quickly deposed; and "the Incorruptible" announced that, within a month, either his head or Fouché's must fall upon the scaffold. Robespierre was right; but it was *his* head, not Fouché's which fell. People who were so ill-advised as to oppose Fouché, usually came to a bad end.

After Robespierre's removal the quondam professor became the most powerful man in Paris. Another star was beginning to rise, that of Napoleon Buonaparte. This important fact was early discerned by the unerring mental telescope of Citizen Fouché, who now set himself to cultivate the friendship of Josephine and of Buonaparte's male relatives. We can barely refer to the clever and intricate devices, whereby Fouché of Nantes contrived to gain the credit of having raised Napoleon to the First Consulate and afterwards to the Imperial Throne. It is interesting to read how, until the very moment of the great general's accession to supreme power, Fouché (then Chief of Police) was quite uncertain as to whether it would prove more expedient for him to proclaim Napoleon First Consul, or to imprison him as a traitor to the nation's liberties. This was, indeed, a question of secondary importance to Fouché; whose one strong point was that, whatsoever

man might rule, Fouché was to be his chief minister. Prime Minister of the Emperor he did in fact become, and subsequently also held the same office under Louis XVIII.; again during Buonaparte's *Cent Jours*; and yet again after the second restoration of the Bourbon. The reason for this continuous tenure of office, under so many and such opposite systems of government, was manifold. In the first place, Fouché always maintained friendly relations with the leaders of every party that was out of power, in view of any possible contingency. Next, he was hampered by no scruples of conscience or considerations of honour. Lastly, he was a skilful ruler of men, and did really good work for the country in the repression of violence and in the appeasement of dangerous political passions. For it must be said to Fouché's credit that if, on the one hand, he would unhesitatingly sacrifice a friend to the exigencies of a political situation; on the other, he never expected different treatment for himself, and never resented it when the measure with which he meted was measured to him again. His every action was governed by the calmest calculations of self-interest, never by passion or revenge. To this rule there was but one exception: Fouché unfailingly and zealously—sometimes even disinterestedly—opposed, harassed and afflicted the Catholic Church. Not that this prevented him from maintaining the most cordial relations with such distinguished ecclesiastics as Cardinal Consalvi and the head of the Missions Etrangères, or even from being regarded by a large section of French Catholics as a present help in time of trouble. He was clever enough to appropriate the credit of everything his Government did for the Church, while he secretly ground bishops and clergy under the iron heel of the Jacobin. Only the Duchesse d'Angoulême, Chateaubriand and the Jesuits saw through Fouché. It need not surprise us, either, that after flourishing like a green bay-tree in successful villany throughout a long career, Joseph Fouché seems to have cheated the Devil as he had duped his fellow man. At all events he died peacefully, fortified with the rites of the Catholic Church. The Citizen Fouché, who had said "Death is an eternal sleep," who had declared that thirty pounds a year was enough for a good Republican, who had stood ankle-deep in the blood of the hated aristocrats, died loaded with riches and honour—Duke of Otranto, Peer of France, owner of square miles of lands and lord of a feudal tenantry, buried in a

Catholic Church, to the sound of holy chants and with the sprinkling of holy water. Well might the scoffer cry "*Ubi est Deus eorum?*" forgetting that God alone knows all things, and acts and permits according to His all-knowledge. One thing is certain, Fouché's history *non obstante*: Honour and conscience, and the fear of God, are still the only way to all that's good.

J. H. M.

### Some Notable Conversions in the County of Wexford.

By the REV. FRANCIS J. KIRK, O.S.C. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

IT may safely be predicted that this fascinating little book will be read with deep interest, in both Catholic and non-Catholic circles. We owe the author a debt of gratitude for having preserved for us this striking record of some very remarkable conversions, which took place more than fifty years ago, and which, in the light of later events, are of special interest and significance.

Two leading thoughts will force themselves upon the reflecting reader of this little volume. He will trace in its pages the workings of the all-constraining grace of God, which is capable of surmounting every barrier, which early education or prejudice or long accustomed habits of thought have erected. Here is a man who starts life as an earnest Evangelical, convinced of the truth of his religious position and determined to proclaim it as an ordained minister of the Established Church. He has no conscious leanings whatever towards "Romanism": on the contrary, he has imbibed all the impressions of his time, and the best he is able to say for the Church is, that "he looks forward to a time when she will modify matters and make it possible for all good Christians to join her." As a "good Christian," he finds himself safer and better outside her fold. And yet this man, being a man of prayer and coming in touch with that best of all the evidences for the truth of Catholicism—a truly saintly life—undergoes a change. Divine grace begins its work in his soul, slowly but surely undermining the frail foundation upon which the structure of his religious life had been built up, and finally carrying him into the safe keeping of the Holy Catholic Church. There is a certain pathos in the simple and straightforward style in which the author tells his story. As in so many other instances of more recent times, it was by very ordinary and apparently

natural means that the work of grace was accomplished : intense disgust with the state of things then existing in the Establishment, the influence of several persons of saintly life, and, of course, Prayer. It is thus that many a wanderer, many a distressed and restless mind, is being brought home now. The exceptional interest attaching to this record is to be found in the circumstances of the times, the immense amount of prejudice and ignorance which had to be got over, and the great difficulties which must have attended the taking of such a step. How many of us can appreciate the real nature of these difficulties in times like the present?

But this book also discloses to us something of the actual state of things in the Establishment fifty years ago. They are of very special significance in their bearing upon the claim to "continuity" advanced in more recent times. A great convert said, not very long ago, that whatever view a modern High Church Curate may be disposed to take of this matter, the utter foolishness of this claim cannot fail to be apparent to those who are old enough to remember the intense Protestantism of the Establishment fifty years ago. Here, too, we have a practical illustration of this fact. The author, describing the internal structure of the Church which he was appointed to serve, tells us of the three-decker pulpit—being pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk all in one, and *effectually concealing the Communion Table behind*. There was no Baptismal Font! baptism being performed by the use of a common blue basin, placed on the Communion Table, and during the ordinary service. On Communion Sundays, when any consecrated wine remained in the Chalice, several poor people *who had no intention of communicating* were called up to partake of it. The question which one is driven to ask is, whether a single statement of this kind ought not to be more effective in disabusing the really thoughtful mind of the "continuity" idea than all the learned arguments of more recent times.

The book contains a record of several other notable conversions, which will be read with deep interest. There is, throughout this little volume, a certain freshness and simplicity which has a charm of its own, and which can be better experienced than described; and we are confident that the book requires but to be known in order to meet with a large and appreciative circle of readers. Indeed, we cannot have too many books of this kind in these present times. J. G. R.

**Witnesses to Christ.** A contribution to Christian apologetics. By WILLIAM CLARK, M.A., etc. New and revised edition. Edinburgh: T. Clark, 38, George Street. 1901. Pp. 300. Price 4s.

**W**HATEVER be the cause, non-Catholics seem to be more active than ourselves in providing popular works against irreligion in the English speaking world. A manual of Catholic apologetics, suitable for the layman and brought down to the requirements of the year 1901, would meet a real want. In "Witnesses to Christ" the author has done for his own circle of readers what we desiderate from the Catholic standpoint. William Clark, who is Professor of Philosophy in Trinity University; Toronto, has written many books, theological and historical rather than philosophical, which have been received with a chorus of praise.

The subjects which he deals with in the present volume are—unbelief, Christianity as a social power, Christianity in the individual, materialism, pessimism, the unity of Christian doctrine, and the resurrection of Christ.

The book is divided into eight chapters, of which we think the last four are the best. The chapter on Materialism, without being over minute, shows the unsatisfactoriness of the materialistic position, and its generally admitted insufficiency. Chapter V. on Pessimism, as a study, is one of the best in the book. It is a fairly good exposition of the subject, and in parts delivers a vigorous attack on the pessimist. We think, however, that an undue importance is assigned to this error, and that the writer has not accurately estimated the amount and the quality of the pessimism in the ancient world, and the true pessimism of the Christian.

The last two chapters on the Resurrection are, in our judgment, superior in style and treatment to anything else in the book. They are accurate, clear, forcible and well reasoned. He selects the author of "Supernatural Religion" and McCann in his Hibbert Lectures as typical adversaries, with whom he deals briefly but cogently.

The position taken up by the writer throughout the book is more theological than philosophical. By this we mean that from the outset he takes the sacred record of the New Testament as an inspired narrative, and Christ as the Word of God; and in the course of the work, from time to time, he introduces

what the Italians would call a *fervorino*. We also meet with lengthy references to theological matters, though it may be urged that these references are forced upon him (in Chapter IV. on the Unity of the Christian Doctrine) by the contemplation of his own position amid the divergencies of the Christian sects.

We gladly bear witness to the writer's ardent faith in the divinity of Our Lord, to his general spirit of fairness, to his freedom from the vulgarity of abusing the Church of Rome, and to his desire to find good and truth in his adversaries. We also record our tribute of recognition to the wide reading which a book like this presupposes.

Still we may be permitted to point out certain blemishes that have arrested our attention. Much will be excused if it be borne in mind that the work is not intended as a scientific treatise, nor even a scientific handbook; as it is plainly a series of lectures on particular subjects of apologetics addressed to an intelligent audience of laymen. The writer will advance no claim to completeness, nor even to the more important quality of embracing within his purview the latest that has been said on the subjects under discussion. His remarks are far too scanty on such topics as scientific unbelief, the new mysticism, free will, and questions of Biblical criticism. And while the book is put forth as a new and revised edition, we are told that the revision consists of but a few slight corrections. The book would have been much improved had more solicitude been shown in regard of definitions. Religion, the Church, belief, the supernatural, revelation, are ideas which constantly recur in these pages, but they are nowhere defined. Again, the ordinary reader will experience some difficulty in furnishing an answer to the question: "Who are the witnesses to Christ?" And as to the manner of treatment, the main defect seems to be an habitual looseness and vagueness.

The three stages of unbelief (Theological, Metaphysical, Positivist) become three forms, or phases (Rationalism, Mysticism, Materialism). Pp. 28-29. Speaking of the laws of nature he says:

"But, although inferences of the mind, they are not creations of the mind. They have a certain kind of existence, for they are actually operating. Where, then, do they exist? There can be but one answer to that question. They exist in a Mind which bears a certain resemblance to our own. And this, in



fact, it is which makes it possible for ourselves to recognise them." P. 161.

Again, in reference to the infinity of the First Cause, he says :

"We have admitted that we have no demonstration of the infinitude of that cause. But it is quite clear that the First Cause must be infinite, for if it is finite," etc. P. 165.

It will, perhaps, not be astonishing if we realise the author's position, that not certainty, but a high probability should be deemed sufficient in matters of such grave consequence as our religious beliefs. He accepts Mill's phrase :—"A large balance of probability is a practical demonstration;" and where the most convincing proof is demanded he "attempts to show," or "ventures to assert." This frame of mind may have something to do with the excessive anxiety evinced to find good in everything, and agreement between the advocates of contrary and contradictory opinions. Without multiplying instances, the the following passage may be cited as representing the author's views on this subject :

"Strip the utterances of the contending theologians of their technicalities and their exaggerations ; compel them to agree on definitions, to use their terms in the same sense, or at least to understand the sense in which they are used by their antagonists, and their differences will be seen to be so utterly unimportant that we may safely say that there is substantial unity in their teaching." P. 136.

At any rate, we may single out a number of examples in which we find ourselves at substantial disagreement with our author. Distinctly Catholic doctrines are designated as "accretions," as contrasted with legitimate doctrinal developments of the deposit of revealed truth. Papal infallibility is given as an instance, as "being a doctrine utterly unknown in the first ages of the Church, and for many an age afterwards; having no faintest germ of its life in the writings of the Apostles or of the first Fathers and teachers and witnesses of the Church and its doctrines." P. 126.

Once again we are told that the entire Christian system may be derived from the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians. "Sacrifices," we are assured, "were ordained as teachers of moral and spiritual

truth." P. 118. Once again we should differ with him as to his view of the impossibility of a natural religion.

But enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the merits and defects of the book. H. P.

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**Colloquies of Criticism**, or Literature and Democratic Patronage. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. 1901. Pp. 137.

THE anonymous writer of these colloquies has contrived to invest his views with much interest, though he nowhere tells the reader in head-lines what he is going to criticise, and he allows his opinions to impress him as much by the result of conversation and discussion as by direct statement. The book is made up of ten chapters or colloquies, which originally appeared at intervals in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The colloquies are sustained chiefly by three persons—Sir John Prichard, a stately, superior personage, who is accepted by his friends as teacher and arbiter in matters of criticism; Mr. Unwin, who occasionally makes independent statements of some value, but whose function in the dialogue is to provide opportunities for the opening out of the views of Sir John Prichard; and Miss Unwin, who, having just written her first novel, seems to possess more of the smart self-consciousness of the young authoress, than the amiability of a woman. Two other characters which appear in the eighth colloquy are representatives of the Bohemian in society, and of the minor poets of the day. Everything appertaining to the material outfit of the book is as good as the style, which is excellent throughout. The colloquies are intended to instruct the reader, while professing to entertain him. The book is divided into ten chapters of equal length. Each chapter is a colloquy, which is introduced as a scene in which the conversation is made to turn naturally upon particular subjects, though the reader is nowhere warned what the subject of discussion is to be.

This is a mere omission rather than a disadvantage, which does not in any way interfere with the general attractiveness and liveliness of the book; which anyone with even a slight taste for literature or sense of observation, will read with avidity. A little industry, however, discovers that the main topics of the book are:—Who buy novels, and why novels are

read (I.-II.) The point of view in novel writing (IV.-VI.) Our minor poets (VII.-IX.) ; and the effects of aristocratic and popular patronage (X.).

The first question about the readers and purchasers of novels, while it opens out many inviting subjects of conversation, is less literary in its aspect, and less suggestive than the inquiry into all that belongs to the point of view from which a story may or should be written. We need only say here that, without even indicating the many separate questions that are spontaneously broached, the four chapters which discuss this matter will repay careful reading. Many will recognise the justice of the opinion that Scott and Dickens have accomplished what neither Shakespeare nor any other of our novelists has accomplished, in creating an atmosphere in which their tales are told :

"To open a book of Dickens' is not like opening a book, but like coming back to one's own country from abroad. The smell of England—all the complicated associations of its national life, and the idiosyncrasies of its people, breathe from the pages. To open a novel of Scott, which deals with Scotland, is like going in a train across the Border in the air of a misty morning." P. 89.

"Scott . . . doesn't ignore, or get rid of, the difference between class and class ; he transfigures them by a noble kindliness, and makes union out of them, not division." P. 81

"Though he views life personally from the standpoint of the old feudal families, this limits his appeal but little. He is not a man ; he is a nation—he is all classes in one." P. 91.

"Sir John : Well, no one excelled to the same degree as Dickens did in investing inanimate objects with a national, with a human significance. Think of his many descriptions of the Thames under its various aspects—of the barges, the shipping, the warehouses. The river, as he presents it to us, becomes a type of England. Think of the taverns, the bars, and the courtyards of inns which he impregnates, by his descriptions, with all the life that has been lived in them. A lawyer's office, with its inkstains and its dusty twilight, becomes under the magic of his touch more living than the characters of most novelists. He paints the London wind and the raw air of Christmas ; he creates an atmosphere with which all his characters are congruous, out of which they seem to emerge, and which gives to them all a unity." P. 93.

No doubt there will be those who will differ from the views expressed concerning the merits and demerits of some of our

native classics, but we think that a solid majority will be with our author.

All will accept the incidental praise bestowed on Gibbon :

"His style has the dignity proper to a man who is speaking primarily to some august conclave, to all of whose members, even to those who are hostile to him, he owes a respect of demeanour, if not of mind ; and whom he will never insult except through the forms of courtesy." P. 166.

But many will chafe under the adverse criticism of other distinguished men :

"I always think of this with a sigh when I contrast the mannerless styles of historians, like Green and Freeman, with the styles of Gibbon or even Macaulay . . . When one reads Freeman one feels one is being addressed by a man in his shirt sleeves. When one reads Green one feels one is being addressed by a bank-holiday clerk." P. 168.

The pity and sarcasm of Sir John Prichard are held in reserve for the minor poets, of whom two are introduced as specimens ; but we may hope that a competent judge will find them caricatures. Keats, Tennyson, Austin, Kipling, and Yeats come up for criticism in the course of the dialogue. The reader may or may not agree with the judgment that is pronounced ; but he will not say that the judgment is ill-considered or superficial . . . Nay, in most cases, we think that the reader's judgment will coincide with the view of Sir John. We have read the book twice with increasing interest and admiration.

H. P.

### **Catholic Customs: a Guide for the Laity in England.**

1900. Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge Road, London. Pp. 92. Price sixpence.

THE Catholic Truth Society has conferred no small boon upon many by the publication of a simple and practical guide to Church services and ministrations. It is a book of ceremonies, not for the clergy, but for the laity. Its professed purpose is to inform the layman what he has to do in Church at the various services. It tells him likewise what he has to do in receiving the Sacraments, and how the house should be prepared for the priest when he is called to administer any of the rites of the Church to the sick or dying, and so forth. An extension of the secondary title of the book in some such

manner as "The English layman's companion to the ritual and missal," would suggest the bulk of the contents, but not all.

Most of the clergy have had unpleasant experiences of the neglect of many simple, and of themselves obvious, directions contained in this excellent manual; as, for example, among the directions given to the godmother at Baptism:

"When the actual baptism takes places, hold the infant's head well over the font, and its face, not the back of its head, should be turned to the priest." P. 13.

To the penitent in the confessional:

"Be sure to let your confessor understand clearly when you have finished all that you wish to say, and do not merely stop in silence."

The directions for receiving Holy Communion are very practical:

"When the priest comes in front of you put your head a little back, open your mouth fairly wide, putting the tongue forward as far as the lower lip, close your eyes and keep *perfectly still*. Do not on any account dart forward or jerk backward as you are being communicated, but keep as *absolutely still* as you can."

Speaking of the communion of the bride and bridegroom at the nuptial Mass, the author adds a suggestive note:

"Hence the meaning of wedding *breakfast*, as the parties would be fasting before Communion, and would require their breakfast on returning from Church."

The customs referred to are the customs of this country, and the directions given for the fulfilment of the legal requirements respecting marriages, births and deaths, are in accordance with the actual state of the law in England.

The booklet is neatly and even daintily got up; the type and paper are of the best. The English is clear and idiomatic, and we have noticed but one typographical error, where at page 75, line 18, the words "to be" are omitted.

H.

**Missa in Dominicis, from the Gradual.** Arranged and harmonised by Rev. T. A. Burge, O.S.B. London: Washbourne, 18, Paternoster Row. Pp. 17. Price 1s.

WE accord a hearty welcome to the interesting study in the accompaniment of Gregorian Chant furnished us by Dom Burge. Not to speak of the printer's share in the work, which merits unstinted praise, nor of the publisher's, who brings out the Mass at the reasonable price of one shilling, and the vocal score at threepence, we regard this production as an important contribution to the movement in the direction of a revival of Plain Chant. The version of the Chant selected by Dom Burge is not that which has been recommended by the Sacred Congregation or by the Fourth Synod of Westminster, but the now well-known Solesmes edition. The importance of this study lies, however, not in the version chosen for treatment, but in the manner in which the version has been dealt with. The writer has shaken himself free from all arbitrary or purist rules. He has a melody to harmonise, and he handles it in a large spirit of liberty, but always with reverence and religious gravity. He discards the old minims as representatives of the squares and diamonds of the Chant, and uses instead crotchets, quavers, and even semiquavers. He is daring enough to employ freely the triplet, in order the more securely to suggest the rhythm of the sacred melody, even though in the *Kyrie* his score presents the appearance of being written in twelve-eight time. Another degree of boldness is reached when he harmonises the *Cum Sancto Spiritu* for four mixed voices in two-four time. The *Et Incarnatus* and the *Et Vitam* are likewise arranged for four mixed voices in three-four time. Still, as we understand the score, nowhere is the measure of the notes to be taken rigidly, but *ad libitum*.

Occasionally the accompaniment is in unison, at other times it is written in two, three or four parts. The style is flowing, and no attempt is made to give an entirely new harmony to each note of the Chant, though it is seldom that the harmonies to successive notes of the melody are completely unchanged; and without ever suggesting the sensuous, the accompaniment is full of colour, and will delight by its naturalness and smoothness. The accompaniment, it should be added, presents little or no difficulty to the average player.

Solesmists may perhaps regret that Dom Burge has not

always faithfully adhered to the text of the typical edition ; for besides using his independence freely in the adaptation of notes to syllables, especially where the Solesmes version assigns two notes to a final syllable, he has also departed from the actual notes in not a few instances : thus in the *Credo*, at the words *terra, vivificantem, venturi, Amen* ; in the *Sanctus*, at the words *et terra, Hosanna*. Lastly, he introduces bars of division which have a tendency to break the flow of the Chant, and in one case to give the too familiar error of "*Et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum*" *et vivificantem*.

Dom Burge has done well to adopt the growing practice of employing the quaver instead of the minim ; nor do we in any sense object to the use of the triplet as such ; but he must not be astonished to hear that not everyone will agree with his particular interpretation of a given passage. Our own feeling is that good has been done by producing a new form of harmonising the Chant, and also in presenting the Chant in a modern notation, which will be understood by all our choir-masters. Still this method, after all, is but an expedient ; and would it not be on the whole easier, and in the long run far more satisfactory, to teach the Chant in its own proper forms and notation ? The real value of the Mass in Dominicis consists, we are convinced, in its being a study in accompaniment. As such it meets a want, it is suggestive, and is altogether an admirable piece of work ; but as a means of promoting the revival of the Chant, we are of opinion that it will be far better to devote our energies to the task of teaching our choirs the Gregorian Chant in a systematic manner from its first elements. Such a task is not by any means so difficult as might appear to the inexperienced.

In addition to the Mass there is the Solesmes *Salve*, a *Tantum Ergo*, and a new tune for the English Hymn, "Daily, Daily," which we heartily recommend. H. P.

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#### La Fraternité du Sacerdoce et celle de l'Etat Religieux.

Par le R. P. EDOUARD HUGON, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris : P. Lethielleux. Pp. 90. Price 1f. 50.

THIS brochure, which consists of two articles that appeared in the *Revue Thomiste* for July and September, 1900, is the sequel to two masterly articles on "Les Vœux de Religion contre les Attaques Actuelles," which also appeared in



that review for January and March of the same year. The articles on the religious vows were more directly controversial than those contained in the present volume ; still, even here, the primary object is the defence of the religious bodies against the irrational hostility of their unbelieving enemies.

“ La haine sectaire et féroce, qui depuis longtemps poursuit les religieux, ne respecte pas davantage le prêtre ; on commence par les moines avec l'intention bien arrêtée de finir par l'écrasement complet du clergé. Une autre manœuvre consiste à diviser les prêtres et les religieux en deux camps rivaux et opposés, car on sait bien que, s'ils étaient unis, ils deviendraient une armée formidable et pourraient défier longtemps la fureur et les assauts des loges.”

The object of the writer is to show that the whole priesthood, whether secular or regular, forms but one spiritual body, or, in other words, that a true spiritual brotherhood exists between these two orders. That it should be necessary to prove this, appears, from all points of view, much to be regretted. From the 13th century onwards dissension between the two orders of the clergy has been a fruitful source of disedification and weakness. Even in this country where almost every able-bodied member of the clergy is needed for active work of one sort or another, our strength has not always been put forth to the best advantage, through want of a proper understanding between the separate corps of the one army of the Church.

As regards the purely positive and constructive portion of the Père Hugon's monograph, we have nothing but admiration for his accurate theology, his limpid style, and his earnest treatment of a glorious theme.

“ Mais revenons à la fraternité des prêtres entre eux. Nous avons vu qu'elle donne à tous la même physionomie surnaturelle : *ipsi Christo configuramur*. Il y a plus : elle les applique aux mêmes œuvres et crée dans leurs âmes les mêmes aspirations . . . Tous les prêtres ont le même rôle à jouer ici-bas : prier, répandre la vérité, consacrer. Chaque prêtre est le représentant de toute l'Eglise, l'homme universel, établissant à lui seul ce vaste courant de la prière publique qui emporte au ciel les vœux et les dons de l'humanité.” P. 22.

When he proceeds to make a comparison between the two orders of the clergy, he is not, we think, always just to the diocesan clergy. He does not realise their status nor their aspirations, and he gives no indication of familiarity with the efforts that are being made to lead on the diocesan clergy to

their proper perfection. For example, with the remembrance of the admonitions of the Pontifical and of the sacred canons in our minds, we cannot accept without explanation the statement made at p. 34 :

“ Quoique élevé par son sacerdoce dans un rang au-dessus du peuple, il reste dans la condition des fidèles séculiers. Il ne s'est pas engagé à tous les détachements, puisqu'il peut garder encore ses biens et surtout la grande domaine de sa volonté. A ce point de vue, il est inférieur à l'humble frère convers, qui par ses trois renoncements s'est mis à l'école officielle de la sainteté.”

This, however, is to some extent modified by the passage which follows, of which the concluding words are :

“ Le prêtre séculier, bien qu'il soit dans un état extérieur moins parfait, devrait avoir une sainteté intérieure plus grande que celle du religieux convers.” P. 36.

In speaking of the priest in his office of sanctifier, he does not clearly recognise that, in the minds of all whose opinion is worthy of any consideration, every priest must be endowed with personal sanctity, that he must have been long prepared for his sacred office in a school of perfection, that during his training and after his ordination, he must, as far as possible, be protected from the inroads of the world, and that he is required to lead a regular life both in the Seminary and during his subsequent career. After referring to the various means of sanctity which are at the command of the secular priest, he concludes :

“ Les secours sacramentels qui dérivent de l'ordination, le contact continuel avec les choses saintes et surtout avec l'Auteur de la sainteté, assurent au ministre des autels des graces de choix capables de l'élever à une haute vertu, supérieure à celle du religieux laïque.” P. 54.

We are far from joining in the diminutive chorus of those who proclaim that religious are by their state precluded from pastoral work ; but we have noticed that the reasons which he advances against such arbitrary exclusion (pp. 60-61) are precisely such as apply to a pastoral clergy properly educated and constituted.

In his last chapter he deals with the particular means that have been adopted in different ages for the purpose of maintaining the sanctity of the ecclesiastical state. Here we go with him unreservedly. The desire of many among the pastoral clergy of to-day is to go back to the ancient canons of the Church, and to adopt the *vita communis*.

Referring to post-Apostolic times, he says :

“ Dans la suite, l'évêque et son *presbyterium* réalisent pleinement l'idéal de cette double fraternité. Sans former un corps distinct, sans avoir des liens très étroits, pas d'autre peut-être que celui du gouvernement ecclésiastique, les prêtres constituent une sorte de collège religieux, sous la direction de l'évêque.” P. 72.

In this connection he quotes the old prose which thus describes the reform introduced by St. Augustine :

“ Clericalis vitæ forma  
Conquadravit juxta normam  
Coetus apostolici.  
Sui quippe nil habebant  
Tanquam suum, sed vivebant  
In communi clerici.”

Although we are in substantial agreement with Père Hugon, we have ventured to criticise certain forms of expression, or certain points of view, in an otherwise able and learned discussion of a most important subject. But we do not forget that the author of these chapters is contemplating a condition of things which is not identical with what prevails amongst us in England.

Finally, we would recommend every priest to procure the book.  
H. P.

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**The Historical New Testament**, being the literature of the New Testament, arranged in the order of its literary growth, etc. By JAMES MOFFAT, B.D. Edinburgh : T. T. Clark. XXVIII. and 726 pp. 8vo. Price 16s.

A LARGE part of this somewhat bulky, but well got up volume, is taken up by a new translation of the sacred text. This space would better have been devoted to the historical introduction, which the author has had to cut out. Mr. Moffat's intention is to throw light on the meaning of the documents forming the New Testament by putting them in their historical order, and at the same time to gather all possible evidence from external sources.

He has read a vast amount of modern literature for this purpose, and has made good use of it in his volume. Of course, his conclusions have no more strength than the premises on which they are founded, and we should therefore, in some cases, have desired to know more of the reasons why he takes one view rather than another.

He thinks, for instance, that the Episcopal government of the Church could not have been established in the life time of St. Paul, and for this reason alone would assign to the Pastoral Epistles a later date than the Apostolic Age. The "Baboo Greek" of II. Peter again does service, in spite of the scathing criticism of Dr. Salinon against Dr. Abbott. Our author's idea about the Gospel miracles is that the early Evangelists spoke of certain parables, which their later colleagues misunderstood and misinterpreted into miracles. The instance he quotes is a rather unfortunate one—for him. He thinks that the fig-tree in St. Luke (xiii. 6-9) and that in St. Mark (xi. 12-14, 20-25) are in reality one and the same. According to this theory then, St. Mark, as the earlier writer, should give the story in its parabolic form, and St. Luke in the later shape of a miracle. But facts are stubborn things, and here they prove just the opposite. For it is St. Luke who gives the parable of the barren fig-tree, while it is St. Mark who tells us of the miracle of the withering of the tree on the Bethany road.

Here, too, as in some other instances, the author's theories are irreconcilable with inspiration.

It is not possible to go further into detail, but we may say, on the whole, after a very careful perusal of the book, that it contains many things worthy of consideration. It also bears testimony to the fact that the critics in fixing the dates for the different books of the New Testament, are coming nearer to those pointed out by tradition. Indeed, if the difference between them amounts but to twenty years or so, we may say that there is practically no difference; for who could prove it now at such a distance of time?

The book, in spite of its defects, will do good, if it induces people to study the New Testament in historical order.

L. N.

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**Meditations on the Psalm Penitential.** By the Author of "Meditations on the Psalm of the Little Office." London: Sands & Co. 1901.

**THIS** volume of meditative commentary shows characteristics similar to those noticed in the writer's former work. (See DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1901.) There is much eloquence, and some striking and original thought. "Perhaps

there might have been a little more "commentary," in the stricter sense. Nothing helps devotion so much as that intimate knowledge of a Psalm which arises from a clear understanding of its authorship, origin and purpose. Perhaps also there is a little too much of the exuberance of rhetoric: the penitential Psalms are so direct and expressive, that paraphrase or illustration is apt to weaken them. The following passage on the phrase "Out of the depths" will show both the power and the temptation of this able writer:—

"Out of the waters of the mighty deep; out of the breakers, the whirlpool, the surging current. Out of the dark prison-house of the heart: out of the captivity of the flesh, where the spirit is fast bound as Jonah in the whale's belly; out of the deep of the under-world, where the spirit knoweth its own bitterness, and no stranger intermeddles with it: where God, though even present, is unattainable; and often deep of sin, where God is banished, while yet He is very nigh, even in the sinner's heart; the sound of prayer, penetrating every medium, forces its way upwards; the voice of entreaty bursts the bonds; the Father of lights hears every sigh, notes the laboured breathing, is moved by the faint cry." (p. 86)

N.

**Meditations on the Life, the Teaching, and the Passion of Jesus Christ for every day of the Ecclesiastical Year.**

By REV. AUGUSTINE MARE ILG, O.S.F.C. Edited by the Rev. RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. 2 vols. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1901.

THESE two substantial volumes of *Meditations*, of about 500 pp. each, bear the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York. They are the work of a German Capuchin, the Rev. Father Ilg, now deceased, who, as he tells us, made use of an older manual published at Cologne in 1712. This translation is offered to the public under the auspices of the late Father Richard Clarke, S.J. The *Meditations*, whose average length is about a couple of pages, begin with a short paragraph answering to an informal composition of place. Each meditation contains three points. The language is plain and simple, the thought weighty and sometimes forcibly expressed. The manual is altogether an effective course of devotional thought on the usual lines. Although it appears to be primarily intended for priests and religious, it will no

doubt be found useful by the faithful at large. There are very few "acts" or expressions of direct affections on the part of the devout soul; and perhaps the book would have been more stimulating had some pains been taken to formulate such elevations of will and heart. But there is no lack of the warmth or devotion, and there ought not to be much difficulty on the part of those who use these pages in forming "acts" for themselves. There is an instruction at the beginning on the method of Meditations, and there is a useful index of Meditations for the benefit of those who make a retreat, followed by an excellent alphabetical index to the whole work.

N.

**Introduction à la Psychologie des Mystiques.** JULES PASCHEU, S.J. Paris: Oudin, 10 Rue des Méziers. 1901. Pp. 140.

PERE Pascheu writes as a specialist. His position as professor of "Critique Religieuse," or what we might call historico-philosophical apologetics, gives him leisure to attend to the numerous manifestations of an important feature in the thoughts and tendencies of the present day. Our Catholic philosophical writers have for the most part been so much engrossed with the task of finding a tenable philosophy, or adapting the neo-scholastic system to a new environment, or in repelling current opposition, that they have paid insufficient attention to a significant stream of thought that has never failed in the history of the workings of the minds and hearts of men; we refer to the sentiment of mysticism. The Rig-Veda, the writings of Plato, the wild dreamings of the Gnostics, the theosophy and divine aspirations of the Neoplatonists, the vagaries of Scotus Erigena, the singular inspirations of Boehme, the fervours of the Wesleyan movement, the sentimentalism of Jacobi, and, by an extreme aberration, even the pessimism of Schopenhauer, are all but different and erratic forms of the mystic spirit in our race. By this spirit man is drawn as by an instinct, or the natural gravitation of his being, to some intimate union with God. The true manifestation of this instinct, heightened and enlightened by a touch of divine power, is visible in the almost inspired outpourings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, the Confessions of St. Augustine, the

Prologium of St. Anselm, the *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum* of St. Bonaventure, in the writings of Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Eckhart, Suso, Tauler, Gerson, Thomas a Kempis, St. Teresa, St. Louis of Granada, Baker and Faber.

And of greater moment than any merely speculative view of the subject is the fact, that from some misapprehension of the term mysticism, the bulk of Christians are commonly supposed to be outside the sphere of the nobler relations which belong to the mystical union of the soul with God. This is surely an error. The common and elementary description of mysticism is union with God. This character divides it off clearly from asceticism which is engaged in the struggle of separation of the soul from the entanglements of the world and evil.

Our author fully endorses the statement of Père Bonriot which he quotes:—

“Être chrétien et être mystique c'est, en un sens large et très vrai, la même chose. Le chrétien est, en vertu de son baptême, destiné à être introduit au sein même de Dieu . . . Pour l'élever à ce terme ineffable et surnaturel, des facultés surnaturelles lui ont été surajoutées . . . la foi, l'espérance et la charité. La vie chrétienne, produite par l'exercice de ces trois vertus, est une vie réellement mystique et surnaturelle, ce qui est la même chose.” P. 40.

His own view is summed up in the following terms:—

“Cette lutte pour l'apaisement des révoltes et l'acquisition des vertus, cette ascèse, je l'ai nommée le côté négatif de la vie spirituelle, de la marche vers la sainteté. Le côté positif, c'est l'union à Dieu, dont les effets dans la conscience, ferveur, consolations, piété, paix et joie, découlent d'un amour que j'entendrais appeler mystique sans protester.” P. 51.

There still remain side issues of considerable importance. How, for example is it that the Positivism of the last fifty years is abandoned as unsatisfying, and men are looking about longingly for something they may live for and love? What is the connection between the interest recently displayed in the study of the history of religions, and the native attachment of the soul to the object of all religion? What is the import of the effort to find a common religion amidst the present Babel of discord, but another indication of a desire to find a rational object for the exercise of the mystical sense?

Yet how is it possible that the word mysticism should be capable of conveying any common meaning to the pessimist, the



quietist, the pantheist, the Swedenborgian, or to Boehme, Blake, Huysmans, and the modern theosophist? These are some of the questions that are discussed in the little book we are reviewing. Certain of his opinions may present to some an unwelcome aspect of novelty, for they have already been criticised with some severity by friends, but in our judgment the author's answers to the questions he has raised are the right ones.

Readers of the DUBLIN will understand that this is a book for the time present. It deals with an intellectual tendency of the hour; and those who feel that sometimes our Catholic writers are late in speaking, will accord a genuine welcome to the book of Père Pascheu. And we trust that he will speedily give to a larger public the lectures recently delivered at the Institute Catholique, summaries of which are displayed before the reader at the close of this volume in a tantalising manner.

H. P.

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**John Wesley.** By FRANK BANFIELD. Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co. The Westminster Biographies.

WE have here a charming little sketch of the life of the great Methodist leader, forming a volume of the Westminster Biographies. It tells us just what we want to know about him, and it does so in as few words as possible, though, in spite of the great compression which has been necessary, the story is never dull. The author is by no means inclined to hide up those traits in Wesley's character, which are not altogether praiseworthy; the book is written quite fairly and with no undue hero-worship, but the impression left by it on the reader may be well summed up in the concluding words that it is not necessary to share John Wesley prejudices to believe him to have been a man whose life was on the whole of great utility—in view of the times—to the English race on both sides the Atlantic. There is a fine photogravure portrait as a frontispiece, and a useful bibliography at the end of the book.

A. S. B.

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**The Reformation.** By WILLISTON WALKER. Messrs. T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, Edinburgh.

THIS is a volume of the well-known series published by Messrs. Clark, under the general title of "Eras of the Christian Church." The Reformation in England is treated of in another volume, and therefore the contents of this book are restricted to the religious struggles which took place upon the Continent. The subject is, of course, a vast one, and by no means easily compressed within the limits of a single small volume; but, on the whole, the work has been well and clearly done with a judicious suppression of all except the main lines of the history. The characters and work of the great leaders on the Protestant side, are well brought out and sympathetically treated. To the Catholics, too, the author has evidently tried to be fair, but here his want of acquaintance with ordinary Catholic terminology sometimes makes what he has written read rather oddly. The following extract, for instance, is from his chapter on St. Ignatius and the Jesuits:

"A second characteristic of the work of the Jesuits, was its insistence on a far more frequent participation in the Supper than was customary in the early part of the sixteenth century. To Ignatius's thinking, such participation at least once a month, and if possible weekly, was the prime means of salvation."

A few maps would have been a great help to the understanding of the difficult political geography of Germany in the sixteenth century.

A. S. B.

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**Plain Sermons on the Fundamental Truths of the Catholic Church.** By the Rev. R. D. BROWNE. Second edition. Messrs. R. & T. Washbourne & Co.

THIS is a second edition of a collection of Sermons by Father Browne, which was originally published some ten years ago, and is now reissued with a few unimportant changes, and with the addition of two new sermons. The choice of subjects is limited to the great doctrines of the Catholic Religion, but even so we note some considerable omissions. For instance, there is no sermon on the subject of the Holy Ghost, and it is only in this last edition that one has been added on the Passion of our Lord. There is still more bearing

directly on the Resurrection, the foundation truth of the whole Christian position. In themselves, the sermons are useful and simple, but they are not marked by any originality of thought, and for the most part are, it must be confessed, a trifle dull.

A. S. B.

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**Saint Nicholas I.** ("Les Saints"). By JULES ROY. Translated by MARGARET MAITLAND. London: Duckworth & Co. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1901.

THE French original of this excellent sketch of Pope Nicholas I. was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1900—where, we regret to see, the name of the able writer has been printed throughout as "Ray" instead of "Roy." This holy Pope's career covers the second half of the ninth century. As church history, his life and acts are most valuable, demonstrating the rights of the Holy See, as understood by a Pope of the ninth century. It was an assertion of Döllinger that "the Popes (before the Middle Ages) possessed neither of the three faculties that are the attributes of sovereign power. They had neither supreme legislative power, executive power, nor judiciary power" (See "The Pope and the Council," p. 90). The dealings of Pope Nicholas I. with the Emperor, on one side, and with the Metropolitans (like Hincmar of Rheims), on the other—his action with respect to Councils like that of Soissons, and his insistence that his own Decrees required no confirmation beyond his authority—all this may be read in this volume. There is also a most useful chapter in which it is conclusively proved that the Pope did not depend on the pseudo-Isidore for his principles of action. The translation is good. There should, however, have been an index. It is announced that the Rev. Father Tyrrell, S.J., has been obliged to cease to edit the English versions of these lives.

N.

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**Meditations on the Sacred Heart.** By the Rev. JOSEPH EGGER, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

DEVOTION to the Sacred Heart is the test and touchstone of Catholicity. If there is within the spiritual system any hidden disease of the Faith, or any secret bias to heresy, it will make itself generally felt by an instinctive recoil

against a devotion which so truly grasps the doctrine of the Incarnation. Father Egger, S.J., whose "Meditation Leaflets" and "Consolations of the Sick Room" are already known to many Catholic readers, has written this small work, as he modestly puts it, "as a help to meditation." It is inevitable, in the restricted compass of the book, that the points should be treated with a terseness and curtness which to certain readers may prove a little disappointing. They must bear in mind that the book is intended for meditation and not merely for spiritual reading, and that its scope is to give the points of meditation which those who use the book will prefer to develop for themselves. On the other hand, these points are solid and pregnant with lessons in that truest of all forms of practical Christianity—the imitation of the Sacred Heart—the "Learn of Me," to which we are invited by the Master. Nothing can be sounder than the warning given by the author in his preliminary explanations. "More Spiritual profit is derived from careful and thorough, repeated and frequent, meditation of and attention to some few important truths, than from a superficial perusal of pages of discursive or emotional piety, or by a cursory review of scores of beautiful thoughts and pious sentiments."

M.

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**Introduction to the Literature of the Bible.** By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A. 1891. London: Isbister & Co. Ltd.

WE have already noticed a most interesting work of Mr. Moulton—"The Literary Study of the Bible"—in the pages of this Review. It cannot be questioned that Mr. Moulton is doing a good work towards rendering the reading of the Bible more popular, and that he is marking out a line of study for the general reader which is likely to prove attractive, and to induce many to spend their time in the study of the sacred volume who would otherwise have laid it aside as either above them or too dry and uninteresting to be carefully dwelt upon.

At the same time it seems to us to be questionable whether there is any logical basis for the attempt to separate the Literary from the Theological or Critical study of the Bible. No thorough study of the Old Testament Literature can be complete without including a study of its theological aspect,

or which does not take account of the results of the best critical schools. Neither can any theological conclusions be safely arrived at without reference to the other aspects of the question.

Though this be the case, however, it is still true that there is a broad field for the student in merely devoting his attention to the writings of the Old Testament considered as Literature, in studying the Lyric poetry, *e.g.* of the Psalms, in discussing the old Hebrew philosophy as set forth in the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes. Though even here, surely critical results are of great importance. For is it not of great moment to know the dates to which we are to refer these works? Then again, in reference to historical writings, how are we to interpret Judith or Esther, or Tobias? Are we to take them as History, or as Tales? Is not Criticism necessary to render our literary study safe?

What Mr. Moulton has certainly done, is to remind people—and they require to be reminded—that the Bible is not merely a collection of texts for theologians to handle; that it is not a mere series of documents for critics to wrangle over: but that it is moreover a rich and varied literature, deserving of the deepest and most reverent study; that it contains some of the most beautiful poetry, some of the most charming narratives to be found in any literature. Mr. Moulton has done this in an attractive way, and we hope that the two volumes which we have noticed will have a large sale and help to make men love and reverence more the pages of Holy Writ.

J. A. H.

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**Missa in honorem SS. Cordis Jesu.** By L. BONVIN, S.J.,  
Op. 6/a. New York: J. Fischer & Bros., 7 Bible House.  
Pp. 27. Price 80 cents.

A GLANCE at the opening page of this scholarly work of Père Ludwig Bonvin, S.J., reveals a skilled craftsman in the art of Church music. The Mass was originally written for three voices, and published in Singenberger's "Caecilia," in 1891. It is now re-written for four parts, and is described as a "Mass for mixed chorus with accompaniment of string orchestra and organ, or organ alone."

The style is polyphonic throughout and is of moderate difficulty, though the compass is not in any way trying. From beginning to end the Mass is original in construction, religious in character, and intelligently expressive of the words. This, perhaps, is not the place to give a professedly technical description of the Mass, still, it will not be amiss to draw attention to the varied thematic structure of the *Kyrie*, which in its reserve and simplicity is Palestrinesque. There are two themes in the ten bars of the first movement (*Kyrie eleison*). In the *Christe eleison* (which occupies but eight bars) there is a new theme which is distributed through all the four parts. In the last movement (*Kyrie eleison*), occupying thirteen bars, the themes of the first *Kyrie* are repeated with fresh treatment. The *Gloria*, which begins as it should with the words *Et in terra pax*, is bright, varied, and full of scholarly treatment. The *Credo*, beginning with *Patrem omnipotentem*, is carefully worked out, and the *Et incarnatus* returns to the *motif* of the *Kyrie*. The composer has held himself in reserve for a renewed effort in the *Agnus Dei*, where we find a new subject admirably treated. We are bound to confess that our first impression, on recognizing the last *Agnus* as a repetition of the last *Kyrie*, was one of disappointment; but on further reflection we feel that so beautiful a movement will bear repetition, and that it fitly closes the Mass. We may hope for more compositions of this character from the pen of Father Bonvin.

H. P.

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**Messe Melodique à deux parties, pour voix égales.** By PERE LIGONNET, O.P. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. P. 17. Price 3.00.

AS the first and elementary test of a musical composition for use in a liturgical service is its compliance with liturgical requirements, this Mass could be accepted as satisfactory until the words *Adoramus Te* and *Agnus Dei* had been inserted in the *Gloria*. The composer has not provided a *Credo*. The words *Gloria in excelsis* after being intoned by the priest are here repeated by the choir. The *Kyrie* is a serenade in six-eight time. The way in which the words are repeated seems very curious when written out or said in English. Thus after *Kyrie eleison* has been sung four times we have :—

*Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie eleison.*  
*Kyrie eleison (twice).*  
*eleison, eleison, eleison, eleison.*  
*Christe, Christe, Christe eleison.*  
*eleison, eleison, eleison, eleison, eleison, eleison.*  
*Gratias, gratias, gratias agimus.*  
*Qui tollis, qui tollis, qui tollis peccata mundi.*  
*Suscipe, suscipe, suscipe, etc.*  
*Cum Sancto, cum Sancto, cum Sancto Spiritu.*

The accents in the *Gloria* are repeatedly and seriously misplaced, while the accompaniment is suited for the piano rather than the organ, is not unfrequently trivial, and is invariably such as would scarcely overtax the executive powers of a child.

The whole tone of the Mass is sentimental and undignified, and the character of the musical composition is commonplace.

H. P.

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**Six O Salutaris and six Tantum Ergo** for one, two, or three voices. Price 40c. New York: J. Fischer & Bros., 7 Bible House. P. 15.

A COLLECTION such as this will meet the wants of many small choirs. Each of the pieces is arranged for three voices with an accompaniment for the organ or harmonium. The composers have attempted the difficult task of so disposing their harmonies as to admit of all the pieces being sung either in unison, or as a duet (Soprano and Alto, or Soprano and Barytone), or as a trio (Soprano, Alto and Barytone). We think it was ill advised to have attempted so much. As trios with the obligato accompaniment they are pleasing, and though they are nearly all very easy, they display something of the resources of music. The composers are Bonvin, S.J., Gubing, Koenen, and Leitner. All have resolved to keep from a secular style, and to avoid what is hackneyed in religious music. At the same time they have allowed themselves a warmth and brightness in their harmonisations, which are sometimes lacking in professedly religious compositions.

If a suggestion of any kind might be offered, it would be to the effect that, in music of this description, a good melody is essential. Sometimes the melody has too large a compass to be effective throughout, sometimes the intervals are unexpected



or a trifle awkward, sometimes the tune seems wanting in unity and naturalness. But it is gratifying to add that *O Salutaris* No. 6 by Bonvin, and *Tantum Ergo* No. 7 by Gubing (after Quante) are complete exceptions to the criticism we have offered.

Likewise *Tantum Ergo* No. 9 by Koenen, and No. 12 by Bonvin are thoroughly satisfactory compositions from all points of view.

H. P.

**L'Inquietude Religieuse.** Aubes et Lendemain de Conversion. By HENRI BREMOND, S.J. Paris: Perrin & Cie. 1901. Pp 140.

**I**N this work we have a series of sketches dealing with the religious revival of the nineteenth century, especially in England. The author is an intelligent foreigner, who has evidently closely studied the religious movement in this country. The matter of which he treats is for the most part already familiar to the English reader, but it is always interesting and often useful to see ourselves as others see us.

The opening sketch treats of Sydney Smith and gives him full credit for the excellent work he did in the cause of Catholic Emancipation. But clergyman though he was, he made no effort to emancipate himself and his fellow-countrymen from the "inheritance of easy-going virtue, comfortable living, and theological indifference handed down by his predecessors." He was neither better nor worse than the average Anglican parson of his day. What was their religion? Did it consist in saving souls, sanctifying themselves and others at the same time? Such things did not give him a moment's concern. His first object was to make an honest fortune for himself, and, as for his parishioners, he consulted only their material welfare, and in so far only as it was bound up with his. All the moral instruction of Sydney Smith may be summed up in the following advice which he gave his parishioners—"Do not sit down in wet clothes; it is ruinous to the health. I forbid poaching; it will be the ruin of yourselves and your families. Some fine morning you will be caught with a pheasant in one pocket and a hare in the other!"

And as he taught, so he practised. As years advanced and death was approaching, the nearness of eternity inspired him with no higher thoughts than these: "Our house is full of

beef, beer, pastry, children, books ; life passes very agreeably, *unfortunately* I remember too often that I am approaching my end." Truly Horatian sentiments, but abominable when coming from the lips of a minister of the Gospel.

Everywhere and in all things he sees the material side. Looking back upon his life, he notes the material progress which had taken place ; but spiritual progress does not concern him.

"In my youth," he writes, "I had no umbrella ; it was impossible for me to fasten my breeches, braces were unknown." . . . and so on.

Upon which our author remarks :

"As for me, the spectacle of such an old age gives me searchings of heart ; either I understand nothing of the Gospel, or this is no way for a Christian to prepare for death."

But a brighter spiritual day was already dawning for England. While Sydney Smith was uttering his pagan sentiments at the threshold of the grave, and preaching the Gospel of contentment and self-indulgence to the last, a young preacher at Oxford was beginning to awaken the consciences of Englishmen to a sense of the degradation into which their Church had fallen. Sydney Smith would hold up the prosperity of England as an argument for the truth of the Protestant religion (as a comfortable bishop of the Establishment has done in our own days), but Newman read his Gospel aright, and drew a far different conclusion.

He reminded his readers that temporal prosperity was indeed promised to the stiff-necked Jews of the Old Testament as a reward for their fidelity ; but that the spirit of the New Testament was far different—and he feared rather that the prosperity of England might be a sign of the displeasure of the Almighty.

In the next sketch, Fr. Bremond discusses the Oxford movement, and contrasts the characters of Newman and Pusey, with a view to explaining the causes of the great divergence in their religious careers. He sets himself the task of discovering what prevented Pusey from finding the truth and following it, as Newman and so many others did. Our author attributes Pusey's position to two chief causes, *i.e.*, *his blind affection for the Church of England, and his utterly illogical mind*, which could contemplate for a considerable time the premises of a syllogism, and fail to see the consequence which was staring him

in the face. Pusey loved the Church of England as a fond mother loves her wayward child and cannot be got to see its faults.

He contrasts the conduct of Newman with that of Pusey, when, in 1838, the Anglican Bishops condemned certain expressions in the Tracts. Newman, who felt the necessity of an infallible guide in matters of religion, and regarded his bishop as a pope, felt himself bound to suppress the Tracts, in deference to episcopal authority—displaying thereby a truly Catholic spirit. Pusey, on the other hand, dryly remarks, "There ought to be some way of escaping," and so to the end of his life he kept looking out for loop-holes.

And so, when Newman joins the Catholic Church, Pusey again assumes an attitude of compromise. He cannot disapprove of the step without condemning his dearest friend. He cannot approve of it without condemning the Church of England. He makes up his mind that Newman, perhaps, has a special work to do in the Church of Rome, not seeing that he joined it in the spirit of submission, and not with the idea of playing the rôle of a reformer.

The following chapter contains an interesting study of M. Brunetiere's theories, written, as the author remarks, before that eminent Academician rejoined the Catholic Church.

Next comes a review of Ward's "Life of Cardinal Wiseman," which naturally does not contain much that is new for English readers. And here we may supplement Mr. Ward's otherwise minute account of the Cardinal's family with the following details, which he has strangely omitted to give his readers, and which may be found in W. Maziere Brady's "Episcopal Succession."

In 1771, James Wiseman (? father of the Cardinal, not grandfather, as Mr. Ward has it), left Ireland and took refuge in Spain. In 1781 he married, at Seville, Miss Mariana Dumphy, whom Mr. Ward describes as a daughter of a Spanish general, but who must have been of Irish extraction. In 1800, he married his second wife, Miss Strange, of the Co. Kilkenny.

The marriage was registered at the church SS. Mary and Michael, Commercial Road, London, by Rev. M. E. Coln—the witnesses being Lawrence Strange and Edwd. Murphy and others. In 1802 the future Cardinal, the second son of this marriage, was born at Seville, and baptized in the parish church of Sta. Cruz, by the name of Nicholas Patricio Estevan,

*i.e.* Nicholas Patrick Stephen, the officiating priest being Fr. Bonaventura de Irlanda—alias James Ryan—the sponsor being Patrick Wiseman, uncle to the Cardinal.

The next essay of Fr. Bremond deals with Mr. Wilfred Ward's "W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement," and the same author's "W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival." Then follows a review of Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* and Mrs. Wilfred Ward's "One Poor Scruple"—works with which English readers are already familiar.

P. N.

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**The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey**, Cardinal, once Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England. Written by one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman Usher. Edited by GRACE H. M. SIMPSON. 8vo, pp. 196. Washbourne. 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS is a reprint of Cavendish's famous life of Wolsey. Miss Simpson's duties as an "editor" have lain lightly on her. Her "editing" consists of a preface which is almost entirely occupied by an account of Cavendish taken from the "Bibliographia Britannica" of 1748! She does not even tell us when Cavendish wrote the work.

A really critical edition of Cavendish would have been valuable, but we fail to see the use of a book like this. If we mistake not, Cavendish's Wolsey has lately been reprinted in a far more attractive form in Messrs. Dent's admirable *Temple Classics*. This edition is also cheaper than the one before us. Then there is Morley's excellent critical edition (1890), with which Miss Simpson does not even seem to be acquainted. He tells us that Cavendish drew up the work between July 25th, 1554, and February 17th, 1557. Père Van Ortoy, the Bollandist, has, however, restricted these limits yet more closely ("Vie du B. Jean Fisher," p. 61). Cavendish speaks of Charles V. as "the Emperor that now reigneth." Now, Charles resigned the last of his possessions (Castille, Aragon, and Sicily) January 15th, 1556. The book must therefore have been written between July 25th, 1554, and this date. It spread rapidly in MS. Shakespeare has used it largely in his "Henry VIII.," and has taken two of his finest scenes from it (Act II., scene iv.; and Act III., scene i.). According to Miss Simpson, the first printed edition appeared in 1667—she has not heard of the edition of

1641. She says the 1667 edition is dedicated to "the Marquis of Dorset," and then proceeds to print the dedication which is headed, "To the Right Honourable Henry, Lord Marquis of Dorchester." There are a hundred places in which the text of Cavendish needs elucidation, or correction, but Miss Simpson has not added a single note. It must be confessed that this book presents a pitiful exhibition of incompetency.

D. B. C.

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**The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century**, a part of "The History of Catholicism since the Restoration of the Papacy." By FRIEDRICH NIPPOLD. Translated by LAURENCE HENRY SCHWAB, Rector of the Church of the Intercession, New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. The Knickerbocker Press. 1900. Large 8vo, 372 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

THE translator introduces this volume with an extract from a sermon by Bishop Herzog, which gives the reader a good idea of what he may expect to find in these pages. "The Roman Church is only Roman, and everywhere anti-national; she endeavours to force everything into her own forms and formulas, and does not rest until she has obliterated the national character of the Church, and stifled all national life in the Church," proclaims the "Old-Catholic" Bishop. And this is the thesis which Nippold and Schwab proceed to develop in the volume before us. This forms the second volume of Nippold's "Manual of the Latest Church History," and consists of two parts—the Papacy after the Restoration in 1814, and Catholicism and Papalism in England and America. This second part consists of six chapters of Nippold's third part, while his second part, treating of the history of Catholicism in Germany, has been omitted. The closing chapter of this translation "has been transposed from its position in the original, and re-written." It is entitled, "Catholic and Papal." The translator has also condensed in some places, and omitted in others; but there is little doubt that he has preserved everything which he thought could be used as a weapon against the hated Papacy; and, like Nippold, he is not at all particular as to his choice of weapons.

The book is vaunted as a plain dealing with facts according to the common rules of evidence followed in secular history,

and we are told that from such as look at Church history through the medium of a theological, æsthetic or sentimental haze, this volume will receive no welcome.

We might, therefore, be prepared to expect some measure of impartiality, were it not that we are too familiar with the methods of Protestant historians of this class to expect anything but malevolent distortion of facts, and outrageous imputations of motives.

The hope of the translator is that the circulation of the book may help to free the Catholic Church in America "from the chain that is dragging her at the heels of a foreign despot"; so that, "by declaring herself independent," she may return "to a true Catholicity," as presented in the pure and undefiled communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. The great future of this sect is sketched in the most glowing terms, and we are informed in a note that, under her auspices, "the election and consecration of a Christian Catholic Bishop of Rome is probably only a question of time" (p. 338). Thus, Rome will be delivered from its present somewhat humiliating position of forming a part of the Anglican diocese of Gibraltar! The gravity of the author is something prodigious. He proceeds as follows:—

"The hindrances which here [in Italy] oppose themselves to Protestant missionary enterprises do not exist for evangelical Catholicism. It was, therefore, a true instinct which led the American [*Protestant*—why deprive her of her official title?] Episcopal Church to understand that to her was given that particular *charisma* which would enable her, in the home of the Papacy, to set the Gospel, which the latter had placed under a bushel, once more upon its candlestick. The successes which have rewarded the work of the rector of the Church of St. Paul in Rome (Dr. Nevin) are not to be judged in the light of a sectarian proselytism. In this young Catholic Church of Italy Canon Campello, with his many like-minded followers, has found a firm support; and Bishop Herzog, acting under the authority of his American colleagues (*sic*), has performed the rite of confirmation upon a number of young Christians [Easter, 1883]. The foundation of a Catholic bishopric in opposition to the pseudo-Petrine and pseudo-Isidorian Papacy may not be ventured by any of the European State Churches; but American Christianity is not prevented by diplomatic considerations from supplying this most urgent need of the Church in Italy. Italy offers a large harvest for the evangelical Catholicism which she represents."

The sublime impertinence of this passage could hardly, we think, be equalled in contemporary literature.

But let us turn to the "villains of the piece." These, it need hardly be explained, are not so much the popes as the Jesuits. The return of the saintly Pius VII. to Rome is depicted in lurid colours, for was it not the prelude to the restoration of the Society? Consalvi is a hypocrite for whom language serves no other purpose than for Talleyrand (p. 23), Pacca a Zelante, a fanatic. The fatal Society is restored—mark the result (p. 35):—

"At the same time affiliated orders (*sic*) began to group themselves round the Society. The orders of the Fathers of the Faith and the Redemptorists (!), and the congregations of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, formed auxiliaries. Out of the many associations with masonic, liberal, and revolutionary labels into which the ex-Jesuits had retired, there issued new congregations for all classes and strata of the people, but all placed under the supreme direction of the Company. Even the older monastic orders, which until then had formed a counter-influence to the Jesuits, one after another succumbed to its authority, and were obliged to modify their former independent constitutions according to the Jesuit model."

The reviewer happens to belong to one of these older monastic orders which thus succumbed, according to our author, and he would be grateful for further details as to this curious "historical fact," which is quite new to him.

The writer proceeds to give his peculiar reading of the history of the Papacy under Leo XII., Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and the present Pontiff. There is nothing new in what he says, to those who are acquainted with the literary productions of "Janus" and his compeers, and it would be useless to attempt to follow him through his long and wearisome dissertations. All the old lies which the malignity and hatred of heresy have piled up against the Holy See are here displayed once more. "Dogma has conquered history," boasted Manning, after the Vatican Council; and Dom Guéranger is accused of falsifying documents to bolster up the Papal claim to infallibility:—

"The achievements of the Reformation era in the destruction of unwelcome books and historical documents have been well-nigh surpassed in the nineteenth century. . . . It would be unjust to charge this systematised falsification of historical documents to the dogma of the infallibility. For the authority



of the Papacy rests from the beginning upon the same system. An unbroken chain extends all the way down, beginning with the fairy-tale of St. Peter's Roman bishopric" (p. 239).

It is the same with Catholic historians—none of them can speak the truth. Janssen is denounced in the words of another "Old-Catholic" Bishop: "Apparently he allows the documents to speak; but by suppression, by a slight colouring, by unnoticed transposition of cause and effect, he says the opposite."

After this, it is not surprising to find that the Clerkenwell explosion and the Phoenix Park murders are the direct result of Catholic teaching (p. 320), or that the saintly Pius IX. is loaded with virulent abuse (p. 190); or that "the love of French comedy for the adultery cult" is traceable to clerical celibacy (p. 65); or that the Jesuits are once more credited with the murders of William of Orange, Henri III., and Henri IV., and with repeated attempts on the life of Elizabeth of England (p. 49); or that the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus is singled out continually for blasphemous attack. The whole book is permeated with this spirit.

Its accuracy as to details may be estimated by the following paragraph, which refers to Manning:—

"The first three years after his conversion were spent in Rome, and from thence he returned as *Doctor Romanus*. As such he was affiliated with the Jesuits. His wife had died, and therefore there was nothing to prevent his entrance into the Roman Hierarchy. He had in Rome been admitted to the Order of Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo, and after his return he founded a monastery of this order in Bayswater, a suburb of London. *Bayswater is said to have become, in consequence, a half-Roman suburb.* Somewhat later, Manning also transplanted the Sœurs du S. Sion and the Geneva School brothers to England. During the last years of Wiseman he almost forced the latter into the background" (p. 292).

With this amazing paragraph we may well take leave of this amazing book.

D. B. C.

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**Rosary Links.** By WILFRID LESCHER, O.P. R. & T. Washbourne. London. 1900.

**T**HIS little work speaks for itself. The attributes of the Rosary are delineated with much ability in point of style.

In eight short and well-reasoned chapters, the author goes into the entire structure of the Rosary, and proves conclusively

its possession of all that is required for the *splendor ordinis* of S. Thomas, and so constitute it a thing of beauty for ever. The final chapter is devoted to the numerous indulgences attached to its devout recitation by the members of the Confraternity. The little book is armed with the Imprimatur of His Eminence Cardinal Vaughan. Procuring a copy is well repaid by the increased reverence and fervour it is sure to inspire.

JNO. M.

**Le Rosaire et la Sainteté.** Par le R. P. HUGON, des Frères Prêcheurs. P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette, Paris.

THIS small work is full of profound thought, and deals effectively and lucidly with the original end and mission of the Rosary. The author points out its two principal effects, light and holiness, which assimilate us to Him Who was "full of grace and truth." Mary, being the channel of all, the graces merited by her Divine Son, is the recognised medium of all human sanctity, a great portion of which comes from due recitation of the Rosary, in which is made continual provision for the hour of death with its awful finality. It is an excellent and well-reasoned work, and one that will ensure the gratitude of all clients of our Blessed Lady towards the author, as it will also the spiritual benefit of the reader.

JNO. M.

**Le Livre de Persévérance, Conseils après la première Communion.** Par G. A. HEINRICH, doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyons. Quatrième Edition. Mame et Fils. Tours. 1888.

IN these counsels to his eldest son M. Heinrich points out, with solid and graphic detail, the path in which he is to travel, and which leads securely to endless happiness. Of the twenty chapters that comprise the book the principal are Prayer (appropriately the first), Devotion to our Blessed Lady, Spiritual Reading, and the Sacraments. "Prayers at Mass" close the work, a suitable appendix to a valuable manual of the kind. Catholic doctrine is not only soundly imparted, but the matter is chosen and squared to meet the dangers arising to

the youth of France from the erring morality of the day. This loving parent points out to his child his various enemies, and gives him at the same time an effectual weapon to crush them as they arise. Not only the French youth, but those of every stage of life, must profit by this small book, because it is one of those rare productions that are sure to do good and reach their aim. In the affectionate and brilliant introductory letter by Cardinal Perraud, the great Prelate says : "Aussi bien je pense en avoir dit assez pour persuader à tous les pères vraiment dignes de ce nom de lui assigner une place privilégiée dans leur bibliothèque de famille. Ils voudront le lire et le commenter eux-mêmes à leurs enfants ; et ils seront les premiers, je leur en donne l'assurance, à y faire un très grand profit." Another letter is contributed by Monseigneur Bourret, Bishop of Rodez et Varres, in which we find these words : "Vous avez montré dans ce petit livre un bel exemple de l'art de bien dire. Rien de mou, rien de lâche, rien de traînant, rien d'inutile. Vous vous exprimez avec sobriété, avec dignité, avec une parfaite justesse. Le bonheur de l'expression suit toujours sous votre plume le bonheur de la pensée." There is also a highly laudatory letter by Monseigneur Thibaudier, Bishop of Soissons. These high approvals render further comment unnecessary.

JNO. M.

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**The Life of Mother Mary Baptist Russell, Sister of Mercy.**  
By her Brother, the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. New  
York. The Apostleship of Prayer. London : Burns &  
Oates. 1901.

A CHARMING book, and one which the critic will treat with respectful caution. The biography of this distinguished nun is so carefully, feelingly, and accurately described, from Killowen to San Francisco, that to touch it would be surely to injure it. The virtues that kept watch over her cradle were her bodyguard to the tomb, growing and developing with her growth, and strengthening with her strength ; and at the close of life, blending into a halo of merit that won for her the prayers and the tears of the thousands who escorted the hallowed remains to her chosen resting-place in St. Michael's Cemetery. Love of God, of the suffering, of the poor, of the neighbour, of religion and all its duties ; love of Ireland, from old Killowen and all its sacred memories to her dear Kinsale,

was so intense, so increasing with time, that her heart seemed the life of her being. The institutions she founded, and the enormous work gone through would be incredible, did not San Francisco to-day point to them as facts, as it will to those who come after us. If we wish to know how much life is sweetened by a generous service of God, and how much one soul can do for God, and, lastly, how little, compared with what Mother M. B. Russell, we have done, are now doing, but could do, the salutary lesson will be learned by a perusal of this life from Father Russell's pleasing and cultured pen. We have read, and with increasing pleasure, this ably-written book, but we have not touched on the many features of its simple beauty, which are reserved for the reader alone. We close with Sister Veronica's words, "I could not say enough about her."

JNO. M.

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**Soliloques ou Leçons de Perfection Chretienne du Br. P.**

**F. Paul de Sainte-Madeleine**, Franciscan, martyrisé à Londres en 1643. Traduits du Latin par un Religieux du même Ordre. Librairie Bloud et Barral, 4, Rue Madame. Paris.

THE eminent sanctity of the author has diffused itself over this work. His faithful correspondence with grace earned the martyr's palm at London on the 17th day of April, A.D. 1643, at the early age of forty-three. His vast learning, austerities, and unceasing literary labours had well qualified him for communicating to others the lights he himself received. His book is a golden treasury of solid, practical piety, and we believe that whoever shrinks from the Cross, the *sine qua non* of ultimate salvation, could not do better than to make it his daily meditation manual. He will soon realise the fact that those alone are afraid of the Cross who do not carry one, and that those who do, love it. It is a most attractive little book. Sound reasoning, much original matter is combined with a great insight into the winning ways and methods our Divine Lord has of dealing with different souls. Taken all in all, its publication cannot but be productive of much good.

JNO. M.

**May Blossoms ;** or, Spiritual Flowerets in Honour of the Blessed Mother of God. By FATHER L. B. PALLADINO, S.J. Eighth Revised and Enlarged Edition. H. L. Kilner & Co. Philadelphia.

WE have in this book of 190 pages a series of detached and highly practical maxims and counsels. The author's idea is that the reader should confine himself to one blossom, or maxim, for the day, an excellent substitute for formal meditation, where the matter is so well chosen and exceedingly practical. A warmly approving letter by the revered Bishop of Helena opens the deserving little book, which will bring edification to whatever Catholic home it may enter.

JNO. M.

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**Life of the Venerable Thomas à Kempis.** By DOM VINCENT SCULLY, C.R.L. With an Introduction by Sir FRANCIS CRUISE, M.D. 8vo, pp. xiii., 278. Washbourne. Price 5s.

THE reader who turns to these pages with the hope of finding a critical examination of the famous controversy as to the authorship of the "Imitation" will be disappointed. In his preface, Dom Scully tells us that to those who are not convinced that à Kempis wrote the work, he presents his "little sketch, with the full assurance that at least they will find nothing therein to confirm them in their doubt." He, perhaps wisely, prefers to avoid the controversy, and assume throughout that Thomas's claim is an established fact. Sir Francis Cruise, who is well known as an ardent supporter of this view, contributes an introductory note, in which he sums up the controversy in a very concise manner. For him, Abbot Gersen, of Vercelli, is a wholly mythical personage, and his claims to the authorship of the "Imitation" unsustained by one particle of evidence. This is a little strong, although we ourselves certainly believe in Thomas's claims. We are not, however, going to enter into this much-vexed question, especially as Dom Scully has given us a charming life of this holy man, which even the most ardent "Gersenate" cannot but enjoy. His style is simple and flowing, and the whole book breathes the piety and devotion characteristic of its holy subject. It tells of the rise of the "Brothers of the Common Life" under Gerard Groot, and how his pious project developed into a reform of the Venerable Institute of Canons Regular, which, some of our readers may

be surprised to learn, "was founded by Christ Himself, when He gathered together and trained in the religious life the College of the Apostles."

Thomas's family name was Haemerkin, which has been Latinized into Malleolus. He was born of pious parents at Kempen, in the Diocese of Cologne, and brought up at Deventer under Master Florence Radewyn, Superior of the Brothers of the Common Life. This holy man was a priest, and the disciple and successor of Gerard Groot, or Gerard the Great, as he was affectionately called by his followers. When Thomas was twenty, he joined the newly-established Priory of Canons Regular at Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, in Holland, a foundation presided over by his elder brother John. We have a touching picture of the struggles of the young community, where Thomas had to wait eight years before he received the long-desired grace of religious profession. This long probation is ascribed to the poverty and insecurity of the new foundation. Thomas became its chief glory and its chronicler. It was under the saintly Prior Vorniken (1408-1425) that Thomas is said to have composed his immortal work. He was ordained priest in 1413, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and he died in the fifty-eighth year of his priesthood. "His biographers agree in assigning the date of his ordination as the time wherein he composed that beautiful treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, now commonly known as the 'Fourth Book of the Imitation.'" In the years immediately following his ordination, he is supposed to have been engaged in the composition of the other three books. Amort says that the first manuscript of the complete work appeared in 1418, but that in 1441 Thomas published an autograph edition which became the authentic text. It is certainly most remarkable that the "Imitation" should be the work of a man who had not yet reached his fortieth year.

Dom Scully tells us how the Order was attacked, and how it was defended by John Gerson, the famous Chancellor, at the General Council of Constance. He supposes that the Canons of Windesheim may have taken with them to the Council a copy of the "Imitation," and that thus Gerson may have become acquainted with a work which has since been widely attributed to him. "This supposition is confirmed" (he adds somewhat naively) "by the fact that in his latter days, in the retirement and obscurity of exile, Gerson composed several devout treatises, some of which bear a great resemblance to the

'Imitation.'" However this may be, the remark reads somewhat curiously in conjunction with Sir Francis Cruise's statement that the internal evidence of the "Imitation" is unfavourable to him (Gerson) in every point.

The book ends with a very interesting account of the relics of à Kempis, and the various vicissitudes to which they have been subjected. The book has three illustrations. One of them represents the beautiful modern shrine which now encloses the relics at Zwolle, and which bears the happy inscription : "*Honori non memorie Thomæ Kempensis cujus nomen perennius quam monumentum.*" Besides this, there are also a portrait of à Kempis, and a print of Carlo Dolce's (?) St. Agnes, which latter, we think, does not fit in very well with its surroundings. We would venture to suggest that one of the many delightful early Flemish pictures of the saint would have been far more appropriate than this sentimental production of the Italian decadence.

In taking leave of Dom Scully's little book, we heartily echo his pious hope that the beatification of Thomas à Kempis may be obtained at not too distant a date.

D. B. C.

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**The Mirror of Monks.** By LEWIS BLOSIUS. New and Revised Edition. London : Art and Book Company. 1901.

**T**HIS little treatise is one of the classics of the religious library. Written by Blosius when engaged in the reform of his Abbey of Liessies, in Flanders, it attained a diffusion and length of days never, in all probability, contemplated by its author.

"He never seems to have publicly acknowledged its authorship," says the preface to the present edition, "but was accustomed to read it to his monks as the work of an apocryphal Abbot, Dacryanus, whom he ascribed to the eighth century. He published it at Louvain, under the same pseudonym, in 1538, and it is believed to have been the earliest, as it is also the most famous of his works."

The present translation is a reprint of one by an unknown author, published in Paris in 1676. Of this an edition was published by Richardson, of Derby, in 1864, under the editorship of Father Robert, O.C., of Mount St. Bernard's Abbey, by whom the language was somewhat modernised.



"The late Lord Coleridge, when Attorney-General, issued the same translation privately, with a preface from his own pen, in 1871, for circulation among his friends. In the same year, at the suggestion of some of them—amongst others, Dr. Newman and Mr. Gladstone—he published it. A second edition was called for the year following. The present editor has collated the text with the original Latin, and has corrected many misprints and other errors which had crept into previous editions. He has also added the references to many of the passages from Scripture in which the work abounds."

The result is a pretty little volume, containing in twelve brief chapters the quintessence of the highest wisdom, distilled into maxims applicable equally to those in the world and in the cloister. The following passage will serve as a specimen of the sagacious Abbot's turn of mind and thought:—

"In all things that differ not from the sincerity of a monastic life, conform yourself to the community, still avoiding vicious irregularity. And because you live among monks that live laudably according to the sweet austerity of a holy rule, be not singular in abstinence and watching; neither exceed the rest of the monks therein, unless by the revelation of the Holy Ghost you know it to be the will and pleasure of God. Neither attempt anything without the counsel and consent of your Superior, lest, while you presume of your own head to afflict your body beyond measure, you make yourself unable for good works and wholly deprive yourself of the fruits of your labour. God requireth of you purity of mind, not the overthrow of your body. He would that you should subject it to the spirit, not oppress it. Therefore, as well in external exercises as internal, temper the fervour of your mind with a holy discretion."

E. M. C.

**The Victory of Love.** By the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. Notre Dame, Indiana. The Ave Maria.

**T**HIS eloquent discourse was delivered in a public hall in Philadelphia on the centenary of the foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart, November 21st, 1900. This great and widely diffused Society owed its existence to a poor and humble French girl, Sophie Madeleine Barat.

"What a gracious inspiration," says the Right Reverend speaker, "was that of Madame Barat, who, when she was drawn to found a society whose chief work should be education, felt that, first of all, it was necessary that she should baptise

herself and her companions in the fountain-head of Divine Love! For love alone can educate. The love of what is higher than ourselves; the love that bears us upward on wings of hope and aspiration, of imagination and desire, towards perfect truth, beauty, and goodness, as they are found in God, is the power that creates the greatest and the noblest men and women, whether they be saints, sages, heroes, or supreme poets. It is because her love is the purest and most abiding that the mother is the greatest of all teachers; and it is because the Church has a mother's heart, which the worldlings and politicians who at times seem to control her have never been able to chill, that she is the great school of saints."

Education, he maintains, is largely persuasion, and he persuades best who is most loved, since "the heart can be touched only by those who have a heart." Nuns, therefore, who have studied in the highest school of love, that of religion, are the best educators, developing not merely the intelligence, but the affections of their pupils.

"In thousands of parishes the light of Catholic truth and love shines from the convent with a more persuasive and unremitting glow than from the pulpit; and as a gentleman is best known by his behaviour to women, so a true priest is discovered by the reverence and consideration he shows to nuns. Bigotry itself, narrow and obdurate, ready almost to hate the good it is forced to recognize in those whose creed it abhors, cannot long withstand the test of contact with these simple, gentle, and true-hearted women."

From the East and from the West comes the same cry, that without nuns to co-operate, the work of bishops and priests is incomplete, since it is to the former that society must look for the education, in the highest sense, of the wives and mothers of the future.

E. M. C.

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**The Wooing of Sheila.** By GRACE RHYS. London: Methuen & Co. 1901.

**G**RAPHIC force of description and incisive power of characterisation combine to raise this volume above the common level of fiction, while the glamour of romance sheds its indefinable charm over the pages. The scene is laid in Ireland, and Irish character is sympathetically described without the exaggeration which sometimes makes its presentment but a grotesque parody of the truth. Equally absent is the morbid

sentiment which with many writers does duty for pathos, and we have instead a strong grasp of tragic situation bringing it home to the reader without the necessity for deliberate and obvious piling up of the agony. The heroine is a true Irish maiden in her innocent gaiety, her love of harmless mischief, and her peasant pride. Here is one of our first glimpses of her before the tragedy of her life has begun :—

“ Sheila sat on the doorstep in the sun, and laughed as one by one the tiny yellow chickens fell over her bare feet.

“ A bowl of porridge was on her knee, and with her wooden spoon she dropped the food now on this side, now on that, inviting the chickens to climb backwards and forwards.

“ ‘ Oh, mammie,’ she called, ‘ look at here : they’re so ticklish, and they bees fallin’ the whole time. Come here now.’

“ The woman inside came forward, and leaned against the post of the door. Pale and attenuated, she gazed sadly down on her daughter.

“ ‘ Don’t be givin’ them the good stirabout, honey : eat it yourself, me lamb.’

“ ‘ Oh, mammie, ’tis only a little bit, and they’re so weeshy. An’ I had a good supper with Nora last night. I can’t eat me breakfast.’

“ ‘ Well, then, give it to me, me darlin’, an’ I’ll put it by for your dinner.’

“ Sheila handed the bowl to her mother, and sat on in the doorway, looking down upon the valley, while the chickens ran piping to and fro, moving balls of yellow down. . . .

“ Sheila was seventeen years of age, but the slender agility of her form still suggested the child in the maiden. Her hair of bronze, tipped with gold, curled in heavy silk upon her neck. Her face was delicately painted in the colours of the mountain-rose. Her large grey eyes had a wonderful brilliance ; coloured and shining like the dew, they lent an expression of youthful ecstasy to her face. In them sat a haughty and indomitable spirit, for Sheila had been bred like a queen.”

But this spoilt darling has to meet the most cruel tempest of adversity when her mother’s death leaves her forlorn and unprotected in her little dwelling on the mountain. To her comes the love and protection of Michael Power, of Tallat, a dark, passionate man, brought up by his stern father without education or any attributes of his station, as an unpaid day-labourer on his lands. He has to woo her twice over, for on her wedding-day she leaves him, horror-stricken at the discovery that there is blood on the hand in which she has laid hers—shed, it is true, by a chance blow in the heat of quarrel

waged in her defence. Vainly the priest comes and tells her it is her duty to return to her husband's home; the pride and self-righteousness of her stainless innocence revolts from association with guilt. Time and the patience of her husband-lover work the change that authority fails to effect, and the softening of the woman's heart at last subdues the rebellion of the wilful child. Michael's sense of dark despair is well realised, and there is a striking touch in the sudden light that breaks on his soul with a sense of Divine forgiveness during a dreary pilgrimage of penance undertaken as a sort of expiation. Much pathos and humour go with the description of "Mick-a-Dandy," the simpleton, or "innocent," not an uncommon character on an Irish country-side.

E. M. C.

**Ashstead.** By C. M. HOME. London: Art and Book Company. 1901.

**R**EADERS of "Redminton School" will, we doubt not, be glad to follow the fortunes of those with whom they made acquaintance in its pages through the later chances and changes of life dealt with in the present volume. The former Kate Allen reappears as Mrs. Robert Huntley, and is the mother of a little Rob, whose sayings and doings will charm the lovers of nursery talk. We are more especially concerned here with the fortunes of Joe Briggs, who is suffering from a love disappointment as a consequence of his conversion to Catholicism. The author, of course, is not cruel enough to leave him permanently unconsoled, and his heart—like many a one, according to the proverb—is caught in the rebound. A visit paid by him to France, by way of distraction, gives occasion for an interesting description of the vintage, as well as of social life, in the country neighbourhood of Ferrière-la-Reine. Joe's blundering attempts at conversation in the French tongue lead to his making unintentionally some very curious remarks, as on the following occasion:—

"Again, in the drawing-room, when Madame Vignoble was entertaining Madame le maire with an account of the various maladies Monsieur Casimir had passed through in his infancy, Briggs listened with real interest, and enlarged on a favourite theme of his, the superiority of the homeopathic system, because, as he gravely assured the two ladies, 'Vous n'êtes pas obligé d'avaler plusieurs très fortes médecins.'

"He was listened to and answered quite seriously, without the suspicion of a smile on the face of either of his listeners, or any indication that he had made a blunder, so that he plumed himself on his success in conversation, and was quite unprepared for the curé's mildly representing that he had said people were not forced to swallow several very stout doctors."

Country life in England forms the setting of the principal part of the action, and it is at Ashstead Farm that most of the characters are brought together in happy and friendly intercourse, whose sunshine leaves a pleasant impression on the reader's mind.

E. M. C.

**Passion Sonnets and Other Verses.** By R. METCALFE.  
London and Leamington : Art and Book Company. 1901.

A NOTE of true poetic insight is sounded in this volume, whose pretty form and binding add external charm to the beauties within. Lovers of religious poetry are many at the present day, and they will welcome a new writer into the charmed circle of those singers whose voices seem to have caught some faint far-off echo of the music of the angels. The subjects chosen reflect varied moods of devotional sentiment. Some are entirely Scriptural, like the first series of "Passion Sonnets" which give its title to the work. Some, again, are fanciful, with a Scriptural basis, such as the very fine "Wedding in Jerusalem," with its under-current of allusion to the parable of the Bridegroom and the belated Virgins. The Church and its worship form the theme of others, and there is a special sequence of "Dominican Sonnets," illustrative of mottoes applicable to the Order. The one on St. Thomas Aquinas runs as follows :—

O intellect sublime ! Sounding the deeps  
Of human science, compassing divine ;  
Whereunto shall we liken thee ? To sweets  
Of mountain moorland purpling line on line—  
Distance to greater distance, where combine  
The hills and heaven ? Or to that mount of stone,  
Whose shadowy gloom leads by gradations fine  
To peaks and spires of light—thine own Cologne ?

Yet seemest thou most like that ageless dome  
Not reared for puny time, nor wrought in haste,  
Catholic—for all tongues and nations made—  
Symbol of unity, the Faith of Rome,  
Grandly the world embracing, and embraced  
By that pellucid heaven without a shade.

The Parable of the Sower is versified in some beautiful stanzas, entitled "Sexagesima Sunday":—

It came to pass a sower sowed his seed ;  
 The hungry land lay furrowed, fold on told,  
 Below, through oleander bed and reed  
 The silver lake unrolled.  
 The smile of morning broadened ; palpable  
 All happy influences thickening fast,  
 Of sun and wind, to welcome as it fell  
 The sower's tender cast.  
 The fisher's boat rocked by the shore at rest ;  
 The nets flapped idle ; the fish leaped uncaught ;  
 The eager folk to the bright margin pressed,  
 For in the boat One taught.  
 On the high slope, against the sky reach, where  
 The white path ran, the sower's form moved slow,  
 And round his steps the hungry birds of air  
 Bright-winged went to and fro.

This is the proem to the few simple stanzas in which the parable is paraphrased, while its significance is emphasized in the finely-worded close :—

The parable is ended ; who hath ears  
 To hear the Teacher, let him understand ;  
 And still the Sower through the circling years  
 Sows with a pierced Hand.

Another subject is furnished by the beautiful legend of "*Domine, Quo Vadis?*" which is told with a subdued eloquence suited to its grave and mysterious suggestiveness. The growing library of modern religious poetry receives a notable addition in this collection of sacred pieces.

E. M. C.

**The Irish College in Paris**, from 1578 to 1901. With a Brief Account of the other Irish Colleges in France, viz., Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes, Poitiers, Douai and Lille ; and a Short Notice of the Scotch and English Colleges in Paris. By the Rev. PATRICK BOYLE, C.M. (Rector of the College). London : Art and Book Company. 1901. Sm. 8vo, 236 pp.; cloth.

THE severe penal enactments directed against the practice of the Catholic religion in these realms by the Government of the usurper Elizabeth, were soon answered by the creation of seminaries on the Continent, wherein students might be trained for the perilous work of the priesthood among their persecuted compatriots at home. Scarce a country in Christendom but afforded a retreat for this pious purpose. France, Flanders, Spain, Portugal and Italy opened their doors to the Catholic youth of Great Britain and Ireland. The Pope, and

the Kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, with many of their generous subjects, gave great gifts towards the education of the young men who, fired with apostolic zeal for the spiritual welfare of their unhappy fellow-countrymen, asked nothing better than to compete for the martyr's crown by returning as priests to their native land. To these foreign centres of missionary effort we owe it that the ancient faith was not altogether quenched in blood or stifled by force of law in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Alas ! that poor Wales was deprived of the like privilege ! In Wales alone was the remnant of the faithful to dwindle in numbers, slowly but surely, from sheer want of a missionary clergy able to minister to her people in their own tongue. The English College in Rome was originally a Welsh College, full of promise for the preservation of the Catholic Church among the descendants of the Britons. They admitted Englishmen to their foundation, and a miserable race-feud led to the effacement of the Welsh character of the institution ; and, in the end, to the exclusion of Wales from her own and only seminary. Despite the zeal and devotion of a small group of native clergy (who were only sufficiently strong in numbers to keep Monmouthshire Catholic until "Emancipation"), and also despite the firm faith of the older generations of Welshmen, persecution on the one hand, and abandonment on the other, in time brought Wales to practical heathendom, and left her to learn a counterfeit Christianity from the Calvinists.

Ireland had a happier lot. She was to forego temporal prosperity and to retain inviolate the Catholic Faith. Had she, like Wales, been deprived of her Colleges abroad, we can imagine the sleek Puritanical respectability which, in all human probability, would have clothed the Irish race to-day, and the difficulty we should have felt in realising that the words "Irish" and "Roman Catholic" were ever associated.

Father Boyle, in this well-written and well-printed little book, gives us the salient facts in the history of the two seminaries which, all through the penal times, gave a hospitable home in Paris to priests and Church students of Irish nationality. These seminarists were generously assisted by the Kings of France and by many French noblemen—some of them of Irish extraction—their first recognition as a legal corporation dating from a grant of Louis XIII. in 1623, which authorised "*aucuns prestres et écoliers Hybernois*" to receive alms in aid of their college funds. To the eternal glory of their nation, these Irish



clerics strenuously maintained Roman orthodoxy in the face of an attempt to involve them in Gallican errors, and, time after time, assured the Holy See of their devotion to all the just prerogatives of the successors of St. Peter. Yet no wonder, perhaps ; for their own missionaries were laying down their lives in Ireland in defence of the Catholic faith against rank heresy.

In the seventeenth century the old College of the Lombards in Paris came into the possession of the Irish seminarists ; and here King James II. held a levée when he returned to France after the disastrous battle of the Boyne. Here, too, Dr. Dominic Maguire, Primate of all Ireland, died in 1703.

It is pleasant to note that the Irish Colleges had no sympathy with the anti-Jesuit movement which, perhaps naturally, followed the outbreak of Gallicanism. The colleges had, indeed, received many benefits from the Society, and were not in the least likely to join in the popular howl raised against their benefactors.

Among the many valuable literary works produced by members of the Irish Colleges in Paris were several books printed in the Irish language ; such were Donlevy's Catechism in 1741, and Gallagher's Sermons about 1750. In 1758 the Rev. James MacGeoghegan published, in French, his excellent and now very rare History of Ireland, in three volumes. The high standard of education and refinement attained by the *alumni* of the Irish colleges abroad has not failed to strike the attention of so acute an observer as the historian Lecky, who compares the Irish priesthood of those times with the Protestant clergy of Ireland, in a manner very favourable to the former.\*

The Irish Colleges in France, though of course they shared the misfortune which overtook all religious foundations at the Revolution, on the whole, came through the ordeal with less detriment than might have been expected—thanks largely to the protection of the British flag which was hoisted over them. They afforded an opportunity to French Catholics to receive the ministrations of priests who had taken no schismatic “constitutional” oaths ; until, in 1791, a mob of intoxicated patriots attacked the Lombard Chapel and maltreated the congregation, in spite of the protests of the rector, the valiant Dr. Walsh. In 1794, on the outbreak of the war with England, the property of the Irish Colleges was confiscated ; leading, in after years, to protracted law-suits for its recovery, in which the great

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\* “History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century,” Vol. III., p. 354.

Daniel O'Connell played the part of a noble though (this time) unsuccessful champion of Catholic rights.

We must permit ourselves a few lines on the Irish College at Lille. It was distinguished by a rule which obliged the students to converse in Irish on Tuesdays and Thursdays. This fact has a special interest in these days of the revival of Celtic. So has the rejection, in 1764, of an appointed rector on the ground of his inability to speak Irish. In the course of the official consideration of his case, "A certain Mr. Dillon, who had spent some time with Lee's regiment in the Irish brigade, declared that in his time two-thirds of the soldiers spoke only Irish" (p. 130).

The appendix includes a number of important documents and a valuable transcript of the epitaphs in the Lombard College. The book is illustrated with three good photographs of buildings. The work is one of general interest to historians, and of special value to Irish Catholics.

J. H. M.

### **The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield to his Son.**

Edited, with an Introduction, by CHARLES STRACHEY; and with Notes by ANNETTE CALTHROP. Two vols., 8vo, cloth; pp. 416 and 502.

THIS neat and well-arranged edition of the celebrated Letters will be welcomed for its readable introduction and useful notes. In the former, Mr. Strachey endeavours to correct the prevalent idea of Lord Chesterfield as a callous and immoral cynic, and points out the probability that many of the great critics who have so severely condemned him did so on the strength of these letters alone, and even without having read them. This is very likely true, and it may be that the popular judgment of Chesterfield is, on the whole, too severe. Still, it can hardly be said that Mr. Strachey has been able to do more for Lord Chesterfield (for whom he evidently has a partiality) than to show that he possessed more good qualities than he is usually credited with. We gladly accept this testimony to his hatred of coarseness, his contempt of shams, his scorn for bribery, and his kindly tolerance for the beliefs of others. Nothing could be clearer, however, than the fact that the Earl of Chesterfield's code of morals was founded principally on the disgracefulness of being found out in lying and deceit, and on the serious physical harmfulness of gross immorality. These were the sanctions which he held up for the warning and guid-

ance of his natural son ; and though Mr. Strachey pleads that the Earl's advice to young Stanhope to cultivate certain illicit attachments "is to be discovered in some seven or eight letters only," most people will consider this quite sufficient evidence of Chesterfield's wickedness. Mr. Strachey's defence of his hero would have been more effective if he had excused him on the ground that he had no religion, in the plain meaning of the term, his convictions being chiefly confined to a cordial belief in the temporal blessings which were to follow from the glorious revolution and the Protestant succession.

We think it probable that mankind will continue to think of Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, as a clever, witty, good-natured, well-bred and well-read cynic, who loved neither vice nor virtue for their own sakes. He once gave a ten-pound note to help Samuel Johnson to publish a book, and wrote two highly laudatory notices of the work when it appeared. When Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he laughed at the people who wanted him to dismiss his Popish coachman. "Once he waited on the King with a request for his signature to a certain commission in favour of a person whom George particularly disliked. The King refused to sign, saying he would rather sign a commission for the devil. 'With all my heart,' replied Chesterfield ; 'I only beg leave to put your Majesty in mind that the commission is indited to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin.' The King laughed, and said : 'My Lord, do as you please.'"

Writing to his son, in 1748, Lord Chesterfield gave evidence of his political foresight, when he said : "His Holiness is actually little more than Bishop of Rome, with large temporalities, which he is not likely to keep longer than till the other greater powers in Italy shall find their conveniency in taking them from him." In these days of "continuity," and other convenient theories of Church history, it is rather refreshing to read Chesterfield's simple and lucid exposition of the rise of the new religion in England. He writes :—

"Henry the Eighth . . . was violent and impetuous in all his passions, in satisfying which he stopped at nothing. He had married, in his father's life-time, Catherine, Princess of Spain, the widow of his elder brother, Prince Arthur ; but growing weary of her, and being in love with Anne Boleyn, he was resolved to be divorced from his wife, in order to marry Anne. The Pope would not consent to this divorce ; at which Henry was so incensed, that he threw off the Pope's authority.

in England, declared himself head of the Church, and divorced himself. . . . [Henry] resolved to retain no part of popery that was inconsistent either with his passions or his interest; in consequence of which, he dissolved the monasteries and religious houses in England, took away their estates, kept some for himself, and distributed the rest among the considerable people of this country. This was the beginning of the Reformation in England."

Could any epitome of the history of the change of religion be more tersely or honestly worded? In spite, however, of Lord Chesterfield's strong common sense in questions of history, it is to be sincerely hoped that no young man will be so misguided as to follow his counsels in matters of moral conduct. Such guidance could only lead in the direction of King George's "right trusty and right well-beloved cousin." Seriously, the letters are excellent models of literary composition, but fraught with pernicious teaching, all the more dangerous from the frankness and *bonhomie* of the writer's style.

Miss Calthrop's notes give additional value to this edition of the Letters, and there is an excellent index. J. H

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**The Works of George Berkeley, D.D.**, formerly Bishop of Cloyne, including his Posthumous Works. With Prefaces, Annotations, Appendices, and an Account of his Life. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, Hon. D.C.L. Oxford, etc., etc. Four vols. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

**I**N 1871 an edition of Berkeley's complete works, prepared by Professor Fraser, was published by the Clarendon Press.

In 1874 this was followed by annotated selections from the writings of the Bishop of Cloyne—a work which speedily ran through three editions—and now, in 1901, thirty years after the appearance of the first, which was already out of print, Dr. Fraser, at the solicitations of the delegates of the Press, has published a second and revised edition.

We are prepared to look for nicety of thought and precision of language in any writings coming to us from Dr. Fraser's pen, more especially when he is dealing with the problems raised by the philosopher of whose teachings he has been so faithful an exponent; and the present work, re-edited by the veteran octogenarian, in no way disappoints us. He brings his years of study and patient analysis to bear upon his author, and gives us pertinent and clear prefaces to each of the essays.

He has followed out the chronological arrangement of the writings, as suggested by Berkeley himself in a letter to Johnson—a feature which the former edition lacked—and thus enables the student to trace with ease the various stages through which this eighteenth-century divine passed in his search for truth—a search that led him into the quagmire of scepticism. For, however much he may complain that “men who have never considered (his) book should confound (him) with the sceptics who doubt the existence of sensible things . . . ,” he cannot rid himself of the imputation of a relative and incongruous scepticism when he goes on to explain in the same letter that what are commonly known as created things “existed from all eternity in the Divine intellect; and they *became perceptible* (i.e., were created) in the same manner and order as is described in Genesis. For I take creation to belong to things only as they respect finite spirits: there being nothing new to God. Hence it follows that the act of creation consists in God’s willing that those things should become perceptible to other spirits which before were known only to Himself.”

Here there is no objective distinction made between the archetype ideas and the creatures which respond to them. We cannot suppose that Berkeley held the eternal and typical *ideas* to be material, and hence we are forced to admit that his doctrine consists in a scepticism which denies to things any reality other than a subjective perceptibility. Pushed home, as it stands, this teaching makes also for pantheism. But we are warned that his terms are, in many cases, equivocal and loosely used (p. 96). It is unfortunate that, in the course of years, the words of a modern and living tongue so completely change or altogether lose their original signification: and it is an almost inevitable sequela of writings employing other than the cut-and-dried terms of the dead languages, that after a time their sense should be obscured by the perpetual modification in the meaning of words. It is still more regrettable that a writer of Berkeley’s stamp should need such an apology for his lax terminology as his editor gives on pp. 96-97 of the first volume, or such a criticism as is contained in the short paragraph which immediately follows it. Still, Dr. Fraser, with the dogged perseverance of the Scot, and the minute scrutiny of the student, sets about unravelling the redundant matter and suggesting the meaning of ambiguous words and expressions. These qualities, together with the fact that he has already

edited and made of Berkeley's works a veritably life-long study, combine to fit the successor of Sir William Hamilton, more than perhaps any other man, for the undertaking of revision and re-editing. He has done it, as was to be expected, in his usual scholarly and polished manner; and the Clarendon Press mark is a sufficient recommendation of the excellence of the printing and the general style of the book.

There is a letter addressed to the Catholic clergy of Ireland included in the miscellaneous writings in the fourth volume (together with the answer which was printed in the *Dublin Journal*)—interesting as showing the conception which the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne had of the Catholic Church, and instructive as a side-light upon his own rigid Protestantism, which, perhaps unconsciously, so influenced the whole trend of his philosophy. Berkeley has been called by a scholastic author an empiric sceptic, and his teaching has generally been placed in the category of philosophy influenced by the theories of Descartes. Certainly he offers no comprehensive system of reasoning to his readers, as, indeed, his editor remarks; and though useless as a text-book, or even as a book of reference, to the Catholic philosopher, and unsatisfactory to anyone versed in the teaching of the schools, his collected works ought to find a place on the shelves of those who are interested in the study of comparative philosophy, and especially of the philosophy of the day in England, which is, to a large extent, traceable to this source.

M. A.

### **Les Lois de la population et leur application à la Belgique.**

Par G. CAUDERLIER. Bruxelles : Oscar Schepens.

**T**HIS monumental and stupendous volume of tables and statistics, compiled and put together at what must have been an enormous sacrifice of time and patience, seeks to establish certain special laws concerning marriages, births and deaths. M. Cauderlier deduces from his statistics that the number of marriages in a given population is a certain index of the facility which that population enjoys to procure the necessities of life; that the fluctuations of mortality are due more to ignorance than to want and misery. A considerable portion of the volume is devoted to a close examination of the theories of Malthus. M. Cauderlier accepts the first put forward by the former—that the population is necessarily limited according to

its means of subsistence, but controverts others. To those interested in the perplexing problems of the laws governing population M. Cauderlier's volume will afford abundant matter for study and reflection.

A. G. O.

**The Little Flower of Jesus.** Being the Autobiography of Sister Thérèse, Carmelite Nun. Translated from the French "*Histoire d'une Ame*" by MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI. London : Burns & Oates.

SISTER THERESE was the youngest of nine children of M. Louis Martin, by his marriage, in 1858, with Mlle. Zélie Guérin. Both parents were exemplary Catholics and well-to-do tradespeople. Five children—daughters—lived to embrace the religious state, Thérèse entering the Carmelite Order, in which she died at the early age of twenty-five.

The volume before us is her autobiography, written at the express command of her Prioress. The justification for such an exceptional exercise of authority is to be found in the pages of this truly winsome, charming, and edifying story of a soul. The earlier pages give us a picture of Catholic family life which, for its simple piety and purity, might well vie with that of the early Christians. We have seldom anything more touching and beautiful than what is to be found in these pages. Thérèse, when a Carmelite novice, gives us an insight into the ways of God in the soul, and shows an understanding of the hidden meaning of Scripture, which are simply amazing. Our readers will be able to form some idea of Sister Thérèse's autobiography from the following extracts. Here is a glimpse of home life :—

"Our evenings at home began with a game at draughts ; after which my sisters read *L'année liturgique*, and a few pages of some interesting and instructive book, whilst I was sitting on my father's knees. When they had done reading, he would sing sweet slumberful melodies, I resting my head on his breast, and he rocking me to and fro. When we went upstairs for prayers, my place was still close to my father ; I watched him, and saw how the saints pray. Then Pauline put me to bed, and I questioned her : 'Have I been a good girl to-day ? Have I pleased God ? Will the angels hover around me ?' 'Yes,' was the invariable reply ; any other answer would have made me cry all night."

Here is a glimpse of Thérèse's inner life when a novice :—

"Since I had taken the veil, many lights had shone upon me concerning religious perfection, and poverty in particular.



When a postulant, I liked to have nice things for my own use, and all necessities ready to hand. Jesus bore with me then; He prefers to show the paths of perfection little by little, not all at once. When, at the age of fourteen, my spiritual life began, I thought I knew all about it, and wondered what further enlightenment was possible; but I shortly perceived that the farther we go, the farther off our goal seems. And now, with my continual shortcomings always before my sight, I feel resigned, nay, even joyful."

A. G. O.

**Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Social Progress**, under Cardinals Wiseman, Manning, Vaughan, and Newman, etc., etc. By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1901.

MR. PERCY FITZGERALD has written two very breezy chatty, gossipy volumes, containing much that is interesting, and not a little that is inexcusably inaccurate and void of all foundation. From covers to covers there are traces that the prolific and facile writer has got through his self-allotted task in a desperate hurry, and that, of course, with the inevitable results. The title is woefully misleading, as probably more than one reader has already found out to his cost. The whole work is a journalistic jumble of irresponsible chatter and comment upon men, eminent and illustrious, and many by no means so. Some sixty pages are devoted to "Distinguished Laymen," and forty-two to "Notable Ecclesiastics." Twelve pages suffice to discuss and dismiss the whole history of the educational progress of fifty years.

As it is impossible to take Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's volumes seriously, it would be a waste of time to point out the manifold misstatements with which they abound. From an historical and statistical point of view the work is of little value or use. But there is much, very much, in it well worthy of perusal, though exception might well be taken to many of the author's reflections and deductions upon questions and incidents discussed and passed in review. Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's style is cheery, often racy, and never dull. Of stories and personal reminiscences the two volumes are replete, and many of them are highly entertaining and interesting. His work will certainly prove a popular and welcome addition to the smoking-room library, if not entitled to a place on the shelves of that of the study.

A. G. O.

**Jean Ogilvie**, Ecossais, Jesuite, etc., etc. Par JAMES FORBES, S.J. Paris : Ernest Leroux. 1901.

FATHER FORBES is to be congratulated that his most interesting, important, and costly work on the Venerable John Ogilvie, Martyr, has reached its second edition. That it should have done so in no way surprises us, as the volume contains much valuable *data* in the shape of *pièces justificatives* hitherto unpublished. Among these is the report of Father Floris (of Gouda), S.J., sent as nuncio to Marie Stuart by Pope Pius IV. in 1562. This report was found by the Rev. Father de Lommel, S.J., in the archives of one of the Society's houses. Another feature of the work is the tracing of the genealogy of the venerable martyr by Father Forbes, the fruits of much patient and laborious research in the archives of Brünn, where Father Ogilvie made his novitiate, as also among those of Olmütz, where the martyr resided for some time.

The biographical section of the work is preceded by a concise and thoughtful study on the position of the Church in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century, an admirable and most fitting introduction to the life of Scotland's great champion of the Faith.

From an historical and biographical point of view, Father Forbes's volume is one of great value and interest, and should meet with as warm a welcome in England as it has evidently met with in France.

A. G. O.

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**Heroes of the Reformation—Theodore Beza.** By HENRY MARTYN BAIRD. New York and London : G. G. Putnam. 8vo, pp. 370.

THIS work forms one of a series, entitled "Heroes of the Reformation." The label serves at least a candid indication of the standpoint of the editors, at the risk of giving a timely warning to the reader. When an author is chartered, *ab initio*, to treat his subject as a hero, he can scarcely be blamed if we find upon his pages a rather deep tinge of hero-worship instead of the neutral tint of impartial history. It may be said that a writer thus commissioned is hardly in a position to deal as fairly and fully with his facts, as he would have been able to do had he approached his task as a free historical inquirer. We note that amongst the leading spirits of the Reformation who have, in this series, received the diploma of "hero," are the

following seven : Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Desiderius Erasmus, Theodore Beza, John Calvin, Huldreich Zwingli, and John Knox. (We trust that Master Erasmus enjoys his company.) In the volume before us, we have the life and career of Theodore Beza, the friend and successor of Calvin, and the "counsellor" of the French Reformation during some of the most trying epochs of its history. Professor Henry Martyn Baird, of New York University, who has already written a work of six volumes on "The Huguenots," has been entrusted with the writing of this volume, and he has produced a useful and readable account of Beza, and has brought within its compass probably all that a diligent research amongst the extant materials can discover concerning the somewhat chequered life of this reformer.

It would be idle to pretend that Professor Baird is in any sense an impartial writer of history. It may be that in the six volumes which he has written upon the Huguenots, he has found time to put in the shadows as well as the lights of the historical background. In the book on Beza, his account of current events is not only sketchy, but unblushingly one-sided. Here, the Huguenots are ever innocent lambs, seeking only to defend their hearths and homes, asking only to live and let live, and claiming only to worship God in freedom of conscience. On the other hand, the Catholics, pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, and monks were so many energumena burning with implacable hatred and thirsting for the blood of the heretic. Not infrequently, one meets with passages the whole tone of which is very much on a level with an extract from "Foxe's Book of Martyrs." Those who have any acquaintance with the records of the period know that the true historical picture of the time is not one which can be painted in the two extreme shades of black and white. In the matter of persecution, the Huguenot, like his cousin the Covenanter, was a man who thought he had Scriptural warrant for giving quite as much as he got, and he did not often miss the opportunity of doing so. Nor was it merely as reprisals, or in the spirit of vengeance for injuries suffered, but because it was his avowed and accepted principle (as the facts amply testify) not to tolerate the Catholic religion when he and his party had the power to suppress it. Catholics who make sacrifices to build and adorn their churches, naturally do not care to see them pillaged and burnt, and the symbols of their faith out-

raged; nor do they care to see their priests and religious slaughtered in cold blood. The scenes which followed the siege of Lyons are not for the readers of "Theodore Beza" of the "Heroes of the Reformation" series. Of all the horrors which the historical evidence contains upon that side of the ledger, Professor Baird has practically nothing to say, except that he incidentally utters a half-apology to the effect that "Iconoclasm had become a common feature of the reformatory movement of late, much against the will of the leading reformers, despite, indeed, their vehement protests; but it was difficult to restrain the people, and the statues and paintings of saints, whether adorning the interior or exterior of churches, fared ill at the hands of mobs intent on the forcible removal of the insignia of popery." People who cannot restrain themselves from breaking into and pillaging other people's churches have rather scant claim to the sympathy which the author seems to beg for them at every page of his narrative. When we turn to Beza's own life and work, one cannot but feel something of pity for the author who has to make a hero out of such awkward material. Not, of course, that there is not much in Beza's energetic and successful career that a sympathetic biographer may not make the subject of eulogy. But there is a distressing amount of rather unpleasant *per contra*, and certainly there is some of it which is decidedly of the most unheroic kind.

We pass over that chapter, at once painful and amusing, in which Professor Baird, a devoted advocate of liberty of conscience, with the American Constitution and the American public before his eyes, has to apologize for Beza's great treatise, which is nothing else than an unblushing defence of the whole principle of religious persecution. Then, just at a moment when the hero, under the designs of Divine Providence, was preparing himself for the great spiritual work of regenerating France by the light of the Reformation, it is not nice for his historian to have to record that he composed and gave to the public a volume of poems of lascivious character, under the title of *Juvenilia*, of which he himself, in later days, had the grace to be heartily ashamed. Beza, moreover, was evidently not disturbed by any quixotic standard of honesty from his devotion to his pecuniary interest. For instance, through the interest of a relative, he held several valuable Church benefices. He was not in orders, but according to the ecclesiastical discipline of the time, young clerics, as future ministers of the

Church, were, as we know, allowed to draw the revenues of such benefices, in order to educate themselves for the work of the ministry. If they failed within a given time to take orders, or if they married, their claim to the benefices became void, and they were no longer legally entitled to the revenues. Young Beza, under a Lutheran teacher, came to have doubts of the Catholic Faith and finally became persuaded of the claims of Protestantism. Of course, then—at least, as a hero!—he was conscientious enough to relinquish the Catholic benefices which he held from the Church which he was resolved to abandon. Not at all. He was, indeed, zealous enough in his new ideas to begin a propaganda in favour of Protestantism. But he did so with prudent secrecy, so that he was able to continue to go on enjoying the revenues which he could only hold as a cleric and a Catholic. The young hero, with one hand was labouring zealously to destroy the work and faith of the Catholic Church, wherever he had power or influence to do so. The other, he kept steadily in the Church's pockets, so that he might live by eating her bread, while engaged in plotting against her. Then he secretly married. If his marriage was not a genuine one, what are we to think of his relationship to the person he married? If it was a valid marriage, then his title to his benefices legally lapsed, and the money which he continued to draw as long as he was not found out, was money obtained by fraud and under false pretences. According to ordinary standards, such conduct falls rather short of honesty, much more of heroism. It is, at least, a sort of heroism which we think would probably be asked to pass some time in a convict prison, if it had been practised upon Professor Baird or his publishers in this twentieth century.

It is with difficulties and drawbacks of this kind before him that Professor Baird has had to work out the heroification of his subject. On the whole, he has done so in a pleasant and readable manner; and if we can only palliate and condone the blots in the record of a reformer, because he is a reformer, there is really no reason, from the author's point of view, why Theodore Beza should not take his place side by side with Luther, as one of the heroes of the Reformation. Many, who cannot see their way to offer their hero-worship quite so lightly, will be grateful not the less to the author for much information on the events of the time, and notably for his transcript of the Colloquy of Passy, which sheds a valuable

light on the precise tenets of that school of Zürich and Geneva which had influenced so strongly the Anglican Reformation, and to which Anglican archbishops were wont to send bales of cloth in expression of their gratitude. M.

**Faith and Folly.** By the Right Rev. Mgr. J. S. VAUGHAN.  
London: Burns & Oates. 8vo. Pp. 485.

UNDER this title, Mgr. Vaughan has published a useful collection of essays, mainly apologetic, which had appeared from his pen in various reviews and magazines. The scope of the work has been to set forth in a plain and popular manner the reasonableness and beauty of the Faith, which makes us wise with the wisdom of God, and to defend it against the attacks of false science or wisdom of the world, which, as opposed to the wisdom of God, must indeed be folly, as the Apostle of old declared it to be. This enduring antithesis, which explains so much of the religious difficulty of the day, has suggested to the author the name of the work, and the texts of Holy Scripture which express it have been very appropriately printed on the title-page. The same theme is specifically treated in the opening chapter of the book, while the chapters which follow may be said to be each in their way a varied presentment of the manifold questions of the hour into which the contrast between God's view as revealed in Faith, and the world's view as urged in its false teaching, work out their necessary and perpetual conflict. In one of these chapters Mgr. Vaughan has lucidly dealt with the relation of Evolution to Theism, and we cannot doubt that his clear and earnest statement will do much to help and to reassure many minds who have been misled by the exaggerations which writers of anti-Christian bias have cast over the great scientific theory. That the principle of evolution, in itself far from removing the necessity of a First Cause, in reality postulates it, and that evolution being a progress of given measure postulates a point of beginning, are timely and useful truths which may save some of the readers of modern scientific booklets from much confusion of thought, and misgivings as to Faith which are at once unnecessary and unfounded. Another aspect of the Evolution question is treated in its relation to the human conscience, and the explanation of the origin of conscience as given by certain evolutionists is shown to be untenable. This is followed by chapters on "What Nature says of its

Creator," "Magnitude and Mind," "Social Disturbances : their Cause and Cure," "The Social Difficulty," "Civil Penalties for Religious Offences," "Intellectual Opportunities : Past and Present," "The Ethics of Animal Suffering," "The Final Destiny of the Earth," "Man or Ape," "The Relation between Religious Truth and National Prosperity." It will be seen from this list that the subjects treated are of topical interest, and such as have their place in the religious thought of the day, and consequently are of a kind upon which it is most important that Catholic readers should be helped to think deeply as well as accurately. We feel sure there are few to whom Mgr. Vaughan's thoughtful and lucid pages will not be a source of profit as well as of pleasure. The style, which even upon subjects which are in themselves abstruse has been carefully adapted to the capacity of the general readers—at certain points, we think, almost too much so—has certainly the merit of clearness ; and even when the reader may not see his way to accept in their entirety the author's conclusions, he will certainly have no doubt as to the author's meaning, and the absolute sincerity with which his arguments are pressed. When Mgr. Vaughan has a plain truth to affirm, especially in the order of Faith, he affirms it plainly, and with all the honesty of Catholic conviction. Hence, his language lacks any trace of that stammering speech and diffidence of doubt, which in these days has become a mannerism so dear to souls of sickly faith. He approaches many of the questions discussed from the philosophical side, while giving proof of his wide reading on the scientific knowledge involved. In the latter, there are parts in which more exactness would possibly be desirable, but the measure of inaccuracy is incidental and not of a kind to affect the validity of his arguments. On the other hand, there are passages of singular beauty and eloquence in which the reader is lifted to a higher view of the issues which he is called upon to examine. In an able essay on the social question, Mgr. Vaughan shows his intelligent sympathy with the labouring class, and his grasp of one of the chief economic difficulties. His statement is best expressed in his own words :

"Another measure which the pressing needs of the situation seem to render imperative is State regulation of labour. At all events in such industries as will more readily admit of it. Take for instance labour in mines, pits and other subterraneous places, where the work is attended with almost every circumstance calculated to render it as hard and as irksome as it well can be.



The light is dim and gloomy ; the atmosphere impure, oppressive and injurious, and the men are exposed to serious injury and even death itself from the escape of gas, from firedamp, from sudden flooding of the pit, from falling in of the roof, the blocking up of the passages, and other accidents of all kinds. To engage in a life-long toil amid such gloomy, depressing surroundings, without leisure for any self-culture or education, or proper relaxation, or the amenities of social life, or even for the practice of religion, is both demoralising and debasing. It is more than that : it is inhuman and unchristian.

"Were the hours shorter, but regular, several excellent effects would follow. In the first place a larger number of men would be employed. Where at present 600 men are working fourteen hours a day, 700 would be needed to accomplish the same work in twelve hours, and 840 if they worked but ten hours per diem. So that in the first supposition 100, and in the second supposition 240, additional unoccupied men would find employment.

"A second result would be an improvement in the condition—mental, physical and religious—of the working man. He would be less exhausted by his day's toil, and in every way healthier and stronger, and could do more effective work in a given time than he could before. He would have more leisure to devote to family life, to self-improvement, and the fulfilment of religious duties, and would be less like the unconscious wheel in some vast piece of machinery, grinding and wearing itself out in one ceaseless round of toil, until at last, without pity or commiseration, it is cast aside as unfit, to give place to another. We have heard men laugh at the bare notion of miners, mill-hands, and others of that class, devoting leisure to anything but drink and dissipation. But in so far as the laugh is justified, it is itself the most eloquent testimony to the demoralising nature of such occupations, as now carried on. Give the men the opportunity, give them encouragement ; put the facilities in their way, and help to undo the mischief done, and they will speedily prove themselves as good clay as ourselves, and open to the same influences." (P. 283.)

There is, of course, much to be said in such a matter on the exigencies of foreign competition, and the law of supply and demand, but all will feel that the Christian and humane spirit in which Mgr. Vaughan approaches these problems is the only one which, in the long run, can lead to a rational solution.

We trust that "Faith and Folly" may have a wide circulation, and that many readers may learn from its pages the wisdom that is truly wisdom, because it has its source not in the feebleness of human light, but in Him who "makes foolish the wisdom of the world."

B. X.

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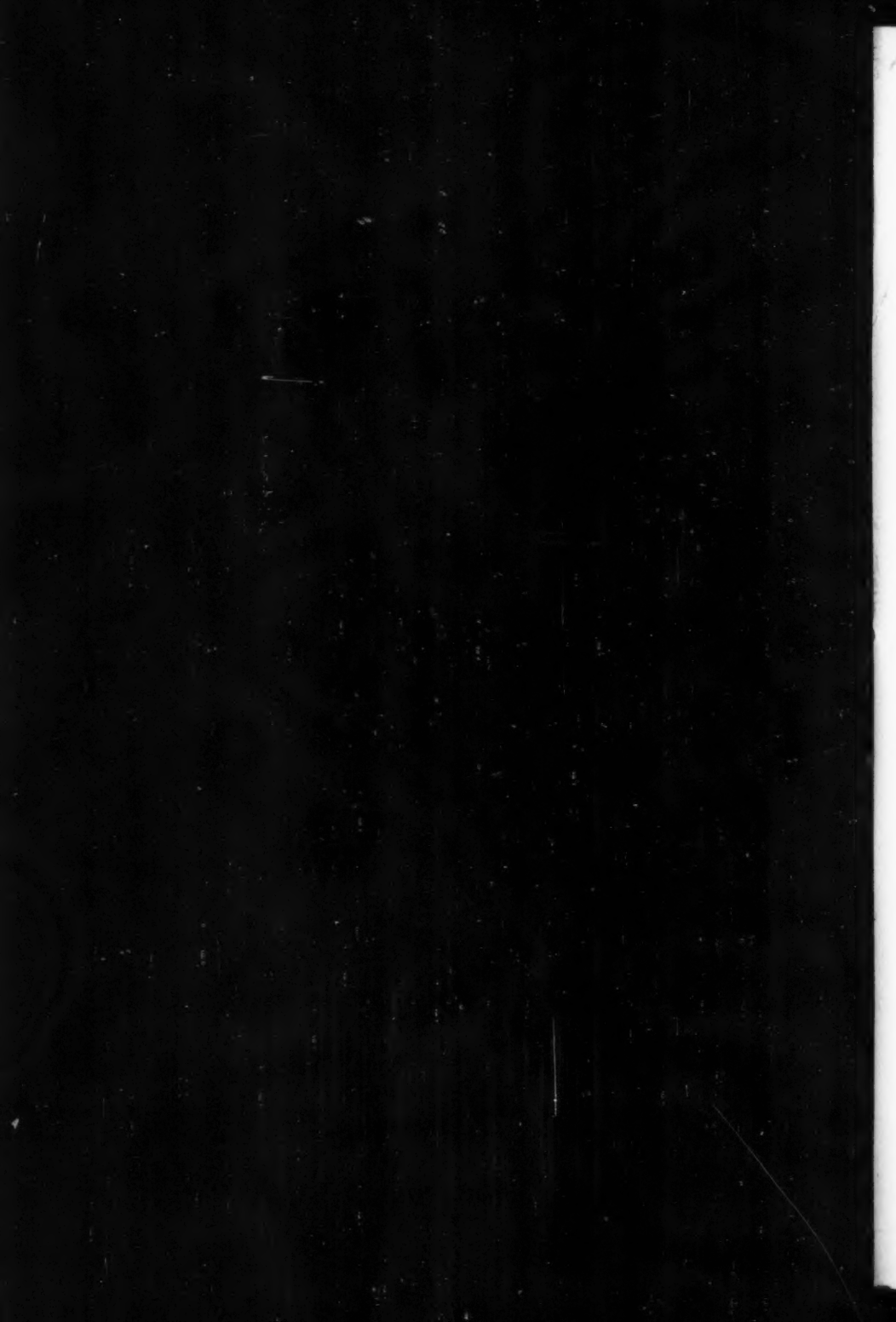
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There are many who were connected with Lady Margaret F. Howard by ties of affection, of friendship, and of gratitude for kindness and sympathy received from her, and no doubt they will like to help to erect this Memorial.

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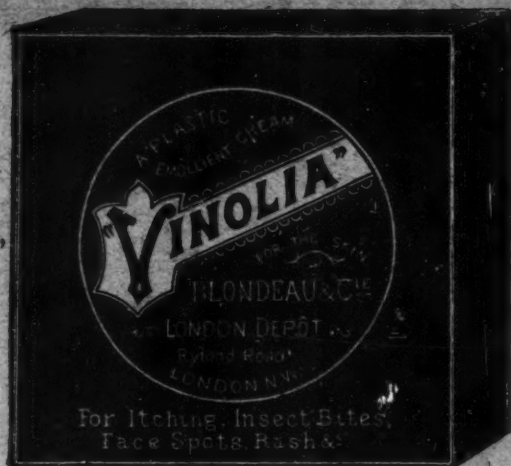
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